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AUTHOR Johnston, Jerome
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ABSTRACT

A 13-part television series called "Freestyle" was designed to see if stereotypes about women and work could be changed and was targeted at fourth- through sixth-graders. "Freestyle's" effects were evaluated among more than 7,000 children in 7 cities who completed identical pre- and post-measures assessing sex-role beliefs, attitudes, and interests. The results revealed that the interest patterns of fourth graders reflected sex typing, with boys strongly interested in athletics and mechanics, and girls interested in nurturant activities and to a lesser extent athletics. Shifts in interest patterns occurred between ages 9 and 12, but the shifts were similar for both genders and did not alter the pattern of sex typing. When the children thought about adulthood and described their job interest, sex typing was also quite evident. This was true for all three age levels. Girls' interest in working outside the home rose dramatically between grades four and six. Children's view of the world reflected strong sex stereotyping. Children's norms for appropriate behavior mirrored their world views and beliefs. Norms for adult roles showed one major distinction between boys and girls, with girls being much more strongly in favor of adult women doing the nontraditional and men helping with child care and cooking. Relative to gender, racial differences were quite small. Black males, however, showed a higher interest in nurturant activities. (NB)

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SEX-ROLE ORIENTATIONS IN LATE CHILDHOOD

Jerome Johnston
The University of Michigan
May, 1983

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Chapter One

THE FREESTYLE WINDOW ON LATE CHILDHOOD

The decade of the 70s witnessed a burgeoning of research on the nature and development of sex roles. Much of this research was motivated by a sense that inequity existed between adult women and men in almost every area of attainment from status and pay on the job to roles within the family. As women's issues captured the headlines a group at the National Institute of Education (NIE) began asking what role education plays in shaping children's orientation to adult roles. The research program that followed identified several things which implicated the schools in the problem. Schools in general, and career education programs in particular, were biased in their presentation of the adult world of work. Girls were rarely portrayed in jobs outside the home. When they were, it was predominantly in traditional jobs of nurse, teacher, and secretary (Leifer and Lesser, 1976). In the guidance area, research showed that career interest measures which were used in high school to help boys and girls make career choices were biased against identifying "masculine" interests for girls (Diamond, 1974). In short, schools were

reinforcing a view of women in traditional roles with a limited set of careers outside the home.

At a time when close to half of all adult women were in the labor force, it was inequitable to perpetuate the "Cinderella myth" that for every woman a "prince charming" would come along shortly after high school and relieve her of all concern for work outside of the home. The facts of contemporary life belied this, but the myth led school girls to make curricular and activity choices which would later leave them ill-equipped to compete for the higher status, better-paying "male" jobs to which they would later aspire. To prepare children to be more realistic, NIE decided to fund an experimental intervention to see if stereotypes about women and work could be altered. They decided that the most appropriate target for the intervention was children in grades four through six. While traditional sex-role expectations are clearly evident in boys and girls of pre-school age, a combination of developmental and curricular considerations led to the choice of this age as the most appropriate target. The result was the creation of a 13-part television series called Freestyle. It was introduced nationally on PBS in the fall of 1978. It was viewed in a large number of homes nationally (by PBS standards) and for the next few years was used widely in schools around the country.

As part of the project a large-scale evaluation of its effects was conducted using more than 7,000 children in

seven cities. The sample was designed to represent 4th - 6th grade classrooms in the central public school district in each of the seven cities. The study design called for identical pre- and post measures assessing sex-role beliefs, attitudes and interests. The pretest measure provides baseline measures of sex-role orientations of upper elementary level children. Sampling in two of the cities was done in a way to insure adequate representation of Black and Hispanic youth. The special sampling in these two cities permits examination of the difference between boys and girls of White, Black and Hispanic (Mexican-American) origin. Similarly, sampling the three contiguous grade levels permits investigation on how these orientations evolve during a period of great change in the mental, moral and social maturity of children -- aspects which have all been hypothesized to relate to the development of sex-role orientations in children. (The history of the project and the evaluation of the product can be found in Johnston and Ettema, 1982.)

THE FREESTYLE SEX-ROLE ORIENTATION MEASURES

The Freestyle measures were developed to be responsive to the contents of the Freestyle television series (L. A. County, 1978; Johnston and Ettema, 1982). This content possessed an underlying rationale which nicely maps onto sex-role theory and constructs. The measures sample from three conceptual areas -- sex typing, sex-role attitudes, and sex-role stereotypes. Recognizing the importance of

"situation" (Mischel, 1968), each conceptual area taps five different content areas: childhood activities, childhood family roles, childhood attributes, adult jobs and adult roles. Table 1.1 displays the measures in a framework which shows how the conceptual area and situations map onto each other. The entries in the cells of the table represent indices in the Freestyle data set. The measures did not utilize existing inventories of sex typing, sex-role stereotyping or attitudes; accordingly, the findings from the Freestyle research cannot be mapped directly with the findings of other researchers who have studied this age range. But the scheme does permit examining three important conceptual areas of sex-role development within the Freestyle sample. The trends which emerge can be compared with other research findings at this more general level.

Developing Measures

Each of the specific outcomes in the matrix was measured with a multiple-question index. Five principles or rules were followed in generating these indices. The first was that they must be composed of closed-ended rather than open-ended items. This rule was necessitated by the plan to have teachers administer the questionnaire to their class as a group. Recording of individual answers to open-ended questions would not be possible. This plan was mandated by the economics of the large scale, multiple-site research design. Based on these considerations, multiple-choice items were developed to measure each outcome.

Table 1.1

Typology of Freestyle Measures

Focus of Questions	Conceptual Area		
	Sex-Role Values (attitudes/norms)	Sex-Role Stereotypes (beliefs)	Sex Typing (interests)
Childhood Activities	Boys in helping roles Girls in athletics Girls doing mechanics ...	Boys in helping roles Girls in athletics Girls doing mechanics ...	Helping Athletics Mechanics Science
Childhood Family Roles	Girls/boys doing feminine house chores	Girls/boys doing feminine house chores	...
Childhood Attributes	G/Boys as leaders G/Boys being independent G/Boys being assertive G/Boys taking risks	G/Boys as leaders G/Boys being independent G/Boys being assertive G/Boys taking risks	... ...
Adult Jobs	Sex of those in traditionally male jobs Sex of those in traditionally female jobs	More women in male jobs More men in female jobs	Male/female jobs Holland job types
Adult Roles	Wives doing male housework Husbands doing female housework	Wives doing more male housework Husbands doing more female housework	Plan to marry Plan to work outside home

Note: "..." indicates concept was not measured.

The second principle was that a few simple question formats must be used. Most items followed one of a few basic prototypes. To measure attitudes the evaluative dimension used throughout was "very good idea" to "very bad idea." As an example, two of the items measuring attitude towards girls' participation in mechanical activities are given in Part A of Figure 1.1.

For interests, the dimensions used were "like it a lot" to "don't like it at all" for pre-occupational activities and "definitely consider" to "definitely NOT consider" for adult occupations. In Part B of Figure 1.1 are two items from the area of interest in pre-occupational activities. In Part C are two items from the index of interest in adult occupations.

The measurement of beliefs required that a few beliefs be chosen for measurement from the enormous number which could conceivably be affected by Freestyle. The proportion of adults who occupy various roles is shown in Part D; the proportion of children who are competent in various activities and skills is shown in Part E.

The third principle was that multiple items would be used to operationalize outcomes whenever possible. For example the measurement of interest in mechanical activities included five items: (1) fix a broken bike, (2) build a model kit, (3) build a radio or something else that runs on electricity, (4) fix a leaky faucet and (5) work with an adult on a car motor. Multiple-item indices, of course,

Figure 1.1

Illustrative Items from "My Interests and Activities" Questionnaire

A. Attitudes toward girls involvement in mechanical activities

How do you feel about GIRLS your age doing these things if they want to:

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
fixing a broken bike.....	○	○	○	○
working with an adult on a car motor.....	○	○	○	○
etc.				

B. Interest in pre-occupational activities

How much would you like to do each of these things if you had the chance?

	Like a lot	Like a pretty much	Like a little	Don't like at all	Don't know what that is
fix a broken bike.....	○	○	○	○	○
work with an adult on a car motor.....	○	○	○	○	○
etc.					

C. Interest in adult occupations

It will be a long time before you choose an adult job. However, you probably know now that there are some jobs you would not consider doing and others that you would consider doing. What do you think about each of these jobs for yourself?

	Definitely consider	Probably consider	Probably NOT consider	Definitely NOT consider	I don't know what that job is
car mechanic.....	○	○	○	○	○
truck driver.....	○	○	○	○	○
etc.					

D. Beliefs about proportion of adults engaged in jobs

What do you think is true today? How many of the people who do each of these jobs are men and how many are women?

	Almost all are MEN	More than half are MEN	About half are men, half are women	More than half are WOMEN	Almost all are WOMEN
car mechanic.....	○	○	○	○	○
truck driver.....	○	○	○	○	○
etc.					

E. Beliefs about proportion of children who are good at doing things

How many GIRLS are good at:

	All	Most	Some	A few	None
fixing a broken bike.....	○	○	○	○	○
fixing a car motor.....	○	○	○	○	○
etc.					

help reduce measurement error and thus increase reliability as compared to single-item measures. The indices were created by computing the mean of the scores on all the items in the index.[1]

The fourth principle was that each question must have a very concrete referent. For example, the index of interest in mechanical activities focuses on such concrete activities as "fixing bikes" rather than "repairing things." The indices are built up from a collection of concrete examples, because it was assumed that children of this age -- nine to twelve -- think about their interests and attitudes in very concrete terms.

The fifth principle was to include in each index some items which were explicitly illustrated in the Freestyle TV shows and others which were not. The index for interest in mechanical activities, for example, includes two items explicitly covered in the shows (fix a leaky faucet and work with an adult on a car motor). The three other items were not explicitly portrayed. This procedure produces indices which can be subdivided to allow analyses either of the overall index or of the Freestyle subset, permitting a test of whether changes in audience attitude generalize beyond the very specific things viewed in the shows.

Administering Questionnaires

The 250 items developed from these principles were collected into a machine-scored questionnaire booklet entitled "My Interests and Activities" or simply the "MIA."

Children completed these booklets both before the series premiered (October, 1978) and again after it concluded its first airing (January, 1979). In one of the research sites the children completed parts of the booklet a third time nine months later (October, 1979). Each time, teachers administered the booklets in four sittings of 20 to 40 minutes each. The teachers read each question to the class in an effort to reduce the impact of reading ability on the responses. Teachers were supplied with spanish versions of the questionnaire to use in their reading when, in their judgment, it was needed. The teachers also filled out a "Student Characteristics Form" for their class which recorded sex, race and other such information about each child. The analyses which follow are based largely on the data generated by these measurement instruments though occasionally the analysis draws upon children's responses to a number of open-ended questions which were asked by interviewers in one of the research sites.

RESEARCH DESIGN

To assess the effects of Freestyle, experiments were conducted in seven cities across the country involving more than 7,000 9-12 year old individuals. Three types of treatment were tested in various combinations in the cities. In Long Beach, CA, Milwaukee, WI, and Ann Arbor, MI, intensive classroom use was tested. In these cities, classrooms of fourth, fifth, and sixth graders viewed and discussed all the shows. In Worcester, MA, and North Kansas

City, MO, there were two treatments: some classrooms viewed and discussed the shows while others merely viewed them with no discussion afterwards. In Saginaw, Michigan and Covina, CA, classrooms of children were asked to view the shows at home during the weekly PBS prime-time broadcast. In each city schools were randomly assigned to experimental or control conditions, providing comparable groups of children for comparative purposes. In each school there was at least one fourth and one sixth grade class participating.

The cities were chosen because they met a number of criteria including regional representativeness and regular use of instructional in the schools. Two of the locations -- Milwaukee and the neighboring cities of Long Beach and Torrance, CA -- were chosen because demographically they included large numbers of Black and Hispanics and would thus permit characterizing the impact of the Freestyle intervention on three different racial/ethnic groups. But such a study entails the collection of both pre- and post- data on sex-role orientations, so the data can also serve to characterize the normal sex-role orientations of the three groups as well.

The sampling procedure in each city was complex. Briefly, all the elementary schools in each district were included in a pool. A few exclusions from the pool were made of schools which had a history of sex-role interventions in previous school years; a few other schools were eliminated because the teachers did not use ITV very

much. The remaining schools in the pool were then sorted into three groups according to the predominant racial identity of the student body. Within each group schools were ordered by average SES and reading ability. Schools were then assigned to experimental and control conditions according to the required ratio. In Milwaukee and Long Beach two schools were assigned to experimental and one to control condition until the list was exhausted. This resulted in closely matched experimental and control conditions. Chapters 2-4 are based on the pretest data only, so this assignment procedure is irrelevant. But the last chapter reports results of the intervention itself and there the design feature is important.

Table 1.2

Distribution of Pretest Sample
By Race and Site

Site	Race			Totals
	White	Black	Hispanic/ Mexican-Amer.	
Milwaukee	815 54.3	490 32.6	197 13.1	1502 100%
Long Beach/ Torrance	819 65.8	224 18.0	201 16.2	1244 100%
Totals	1634 59.5	714 26.0	398 14.5	2746 100%

Both Long Beach and Torrance are part of the greater Los Angeles area which covers a region of 450 square miles. They form two adjoining "suburbs" of Los Angeles due south of the central city. With a population of 358,700, Long Beach is nearly three times larger than its neighbor Torrance with 134,500 residents. The people in these communities work in many diverse occupations within the greater Los Angeles area. Many are employed with the Port of Long Beach and the Long Beach Naval Shipyard, in oil production or in the aircraft industry. Income levels range from low to high, with most in the middle income range. Mexican-Americans began settling in the area between 1910 and 1930, working in agricultural jobs or on the railroads. Taking the two cities together, the population is 65 percent White and 15 percent Black; the Hispanic population comprises 14 percent of the residents.

The Freestyle sample includes children from twenty elementary schools in the Long Beach area. Table 1.2 shows the numbers and percentages of children at each site according to their ethnicity. Only Whites, Blacks and Hispanic Mexican Americans are included in the table. By virtue of their small numbers, other ethnic groups -- including Puerto Ricans -- are excluded since estimates based on their data would be too unreliable. The racial distribution in the Freestyle sample is quite similar to the population at large.

1: THE FREESTYLE WINDOW

The city of Milwaukee lies on the western shore of Lake Michigan, about 90 miles north of Chicago. With a population of 700,000 it is the largest city in Wisconsin and a major industrial center. Well-known as the nation's beer producer, it is also a leading manufacturer of automobile parts and electrical equipment and is an important Great Lakes port.

Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians were the earliest residents and during the last century approximately half the population was of German extraction. People of German ancestry still comprise 15 percent of the population and the German influence, still quite strong, is apparent in the architecture, restaurant fare, and other reflections of civic life. Later immigration brought Italians, Poles, Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Greeks. Most notable was the increase in the Black population: whereas they represented well under one percent of the population at the beginning of the century, they now account for 42 percent. Following World War II, many Hispanics came to Milwaukee as migrant workers and stayed; this included both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Hispanics presently comprise five percent of the population.

The Milwaukee Public School District is very large, encompassing areas with all three racial groups of interest. There is a wide range of income levels represented as well. A total of twenty schools (61 classrooms) participated in the Freestyle study. This included five schools where the

Hispanic population was between 25 and 100 percent. Unfortunately, in the two schools with the largest Puerto representation there were several other experimental education programs. In the course of the Freestyle experiment these schools withdrew their participation in order to lighten the burden on teachers and students there. The racial distribution in the Milwaukee sample is shown in Table 1.2. The percentage of Blacks in the sample is 10 percent less than in the district at large; the percentage of Hispanics eight percent more. This tradeoff was necessary to provide sufficient numbers to estimate Hispanic responses.

For purposes of analysis, it was desirable to combine the samples of Milwaukee and Long Beach/Torrance. While the racial groups in each city are large enough by themselves to permit accurate estimates, the numbers are marginal when the data are broken down by grade and sex. Accordingly, the data were collapsed for these two sites for purposes of this report. In a few instances the results look different for the two sites. For example, Long Beach girls had greater interest in athletics than Milwaukee girls. In the few cases where there are differences, these are noted in the text. The numbers in each of the cells of interest are shown in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3

Grade and Race Distribution
in the Combined Sample

Race	Grade			Total
	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	
Girls				
White	288	168	320	776
Black	82	135	140	357
Mex-Am	55	83	75	213
Total	425	386	535	1346
Boys				
White	326	193	339	858
Black	100	117	140	357
Mex-Am	51	74	60	185
Total	477	384	539	1400

DATA ANALYSIS

Comparing Groups

In the study of sex role orientations the central questions involve the differences between and among groups. How do boys and girls differ in their interests, beliefs or attitudes? Is there a difference between girls in fourth grade and those in fifth and sixth? Do the views of Black females differ from those of Whites or Hispanics? In this study questions such as these will be answered using

analysis of variance, looking for differences between boys and girls, and then within sex for differences across the grade levels (4,5,6) and among the three racial groups. In addition to main effects, interactions between grade and race are examined.

The traditional criterion used to judge the main effect is statistical significance. However, with samples as large as the one used in this study statistical significance (.05 level) is often reached even though the magnitude of the difference between the groups being compared is quite small. One alternative is to describe the variance accounted for by the classificatory variable. Another is the statistic d, which is the raw difference between the means of two groups divided by the pooled standard deviation of the groups.

$$\underline{d} \text{ (in SD units)} = \frac{m_1 - m_2}{sd_{12}}$$

This technique is particularly useful when comparing groups which have been characterized by their average score on an ordinal scale that is relative, as is the case with most Likert-type scales used in the measurement of attitudes, beliefs, and interests. Standardizing the difference also allows for comparisons of two groups across scales, where scales may differ in psychological meaning, in the number of actual points on the scale, or in the number of scale points used by respondents.

But calculating the difference in SD units does not in itself resolve the problem which is still this: how big of a (standardized) difference is "big?" The criteria used in this study are taken from studies of the effects of educational programs where the "effect size" question is phrased this way: how big of a difference between an experimental and control group is big enough to be considered "educationally significant?" The questions raised in this report primarily concern existing differences between groups, not those induced by an educational intervention. But there is an advantage to using the same paradigm. One can talk in the same metric about the size of a pre-existing difference between two groups and the size of the change which occurred from an intervention designed to reduce the gap between the groups.

The criteria for effect sizes advocated by various authors range widely (see Tallmadge, 1976; Cohen, 1977; Glass, 1977; Walberg, 1982). Suffice it to say that in this study (as in the companion study reported in Johnston and Ettema, 1982) the criteria are these:

Difference in SD units	Interp-retation
< .20	unimportant
.20 - .29	modest
.30 - .39	sizeable
>= .40	very large

Race and Grade Differences

When differences are observed among racial groups the reason for the difference is frequently a matter of speculation. Racial identification is a matter of many shared characteristics, only some of which are essential descriptors of the group. Two characteristics counfounded with race are social class and economic status. These are particularly relevant when examining children's beliefs about jobs and work. Children's outlook on the world of work is shaped by what is visible in their community as well as the aspirations verbalized by the family.

In analyzing differences across grade four to six the expectation is for a monotonic relationship -- increasing or decreasing values across the three years. Analysis of variance provides a measure of curvilinear relationship between grade and the dependent measures, ignoring whether it is monotonic. Occasionally, non-monotonic relationships are found, such as when there is a drop in average scores between fourth and fifth grade and a large increase between fifth and sixth. In this report, unless there is a good theoretical reason which can explain such a pattern, the results are discounted.

NOTES

[1]The indexes were all examined for internal consistency, and items which did not cohere were eliminated. Details on the reliability (Cronbach Coefficient Alpha) of all indexes can be found in Appendix D of Johnston, et al., 1980.

Chapter Two

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERESTS

How sex-typed are children's interests in late childhood? Do the preferences of boys and girls for contemporary peer activities differ along gender lines? As they consider the distant world of adult activity and imagine themselves in family and job roles do their interests reflect gender differences? The answer to these questions are important for career education. One goal of career education is to keep open the options of children -- especially girls -- so they don't prematurely "close too many doors" to later opportunity. Knowledge about children's interests permits structuring opportunities and stimulating children to consider alternatives when the ones they express appear limited.

A recent review of the research (Huston, in press) concludes that males' interest in masculine activities increases with age while girls' preferences for feminine activities decline during the elementary school years, but their preferences for masculine activities increase. Female children do not have the same attraction to "sex-appropriate" activities that males do. The data from

Freestyle largely supports this view, but provides a number of insights about variation in interest patterns in the upper elementary school years.

INTEREST IN CHILDHOOD ACTIVITIES

The measures developed to gauge interests consist of a question stem followed by a list of specific activities which fall into each of the interest categories. The stem is: "How much would you like to do each of these things if you had the chance?" There are five response possibilities: (1) "don't like it at all;" (2) "like it a little;" (3) "like it pretty much;" (4) "like it a lot." An additional category allows for the alternative, "don't know what that is." The specific activities in each of the four childhood interest categories are:

> Interest in Mechanical Activities: How much would you like to (1a) fix a broken bike (1b) build a model kit (1c) build a radio (1d) fix a leaky faucet (1e) work with an adult on a car motor.
>
> Interest in Scientific Activities: How much would you like to (1n) raise goldfish at home (1o) watch the stars and planets and figure out the names of groups of stars (1p) make an insect collection (ants, moths, butterflies, or other insects) (1q) make a collection of different kinds of rocks (1r) read books about rocks, insects, flowers, or stars (1s) do a project for a science fair.
>
> Interest in Athletics: How much would you like to play (1u) football (1v) basketball (1w) dodgeball (1x) soccer (1y) baseball.
>
> Interest in Helping Activities: How much would you like to (1f) take care of a younger child at the playground (1g) help a younger child with math (1h) teach a younger child how to play a game (1i) sew a button on clothes or sew up a tear (1j) help an adult fix meals for the family (1k) help old people (not living in your home) (1l) help at a recreation center

for handicapped people who are deaf, crippled, or blind (1m) take care of sick people (not living in your home) and (1t) run errands for an elderly person.

An "index" of interest in each of these categories was constructed by averaging responses to items in each category. Thus a respondent's "interest in mechanics" is defined as the average interest in doing each of five specific mechanical activities.

Gender Differences

Traditionally these four activity areas have been highly sex typed as either male or female. Athletics, mechanics, and science have been seen as the domain of males and nurturance (helping activities) the domain of females. This perception is born out in the Freestyle data as shown in Figure 2.1 and Table 2.1. The index of interest in athletics includes games ranging from football -- the most exclusively masculine -- to games which are often played by girls such as baseball and basketball. Males express the most interest in this group of activities; their mean of 3.44 is halfway between like it "pretty much" and like it "a lot." This interest level is higher than females express for any activities, even the helping activities. The standard deviation of .58 for boys is quite small, indicating homogeneity of interest. By contrast the average female interest in athletics is 2.79 -- a little below "pretty much." The standard deviation for the females is .77, the largest for all of the interest measures. This indicates great variability among females regarding interest

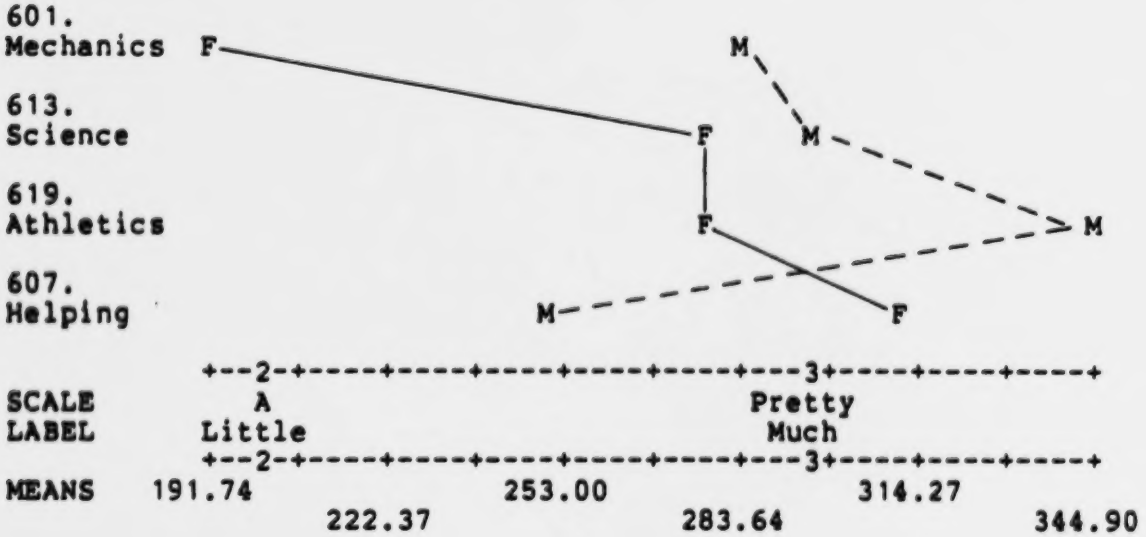
in this activity area. The difference between males and females' interest in athletics is quite large, .96SD units, indicating that athletics is sex typed. (See Chapter One for an explanation of SD units.)

Table 2.1
Gender Differences in
Childhood Activity Interests

	Athletics	Science	Mechanics	Helping
Females	2.79	2.79	1.92	3.11
std dev	.77	.64	.65	.55
Males	3.44	2.94	2.84	2.52
std dev	.58	.64	.63	.64
Fem-Male diff in SD units	.96	.23	1.44	.98

Females express the same level of interest in science as they do athletics. Males show only moderately higher interest than females, so science is not nearly as sex typed as athletics. Females average 2.79 and males 2.94. This difference in SD units is only .23SD. The activities included in the science index were chosen with the aid of elementary and junior high science teachers who were asked to identify behaviors typical of 9-12 year olds which they would judge to be indicators of scientific interest. The items do not include activities with a mechanical or technological component. They include reading, observing, collecting and classifying. The activities are less

Figure 2.1: Gender Differences in Childhood Activities



"active," perhaps, than tearing down an engine or constructing a rocket. It seems, however, that they are at the heart of what science is all about.

The index of mechanical interests includes activities which require both large and small motor skills, such as bike repair and building a model kit or radio. The index includes very masculine activities such as plumbing ("fix a leaky faucet") and auto repair ("work with an adult on a car motor"). Mechanics is the domain of interest that separates males and females the most. Male interest (2.84) is positive, but not as high as their interest in athletics. Females, however, show an average interest of 1.92, just below like it "a little." This is the lowest level of interest in an activity expressed by either gender. The difference between females and males is extremely large, 1.44SD. Mechanical interest, then, is the most sex typed of all the interests measured.

The index of helping activities captures nurturing interest in a wide variety of contexts, including tutoring, babysitting, helping older people, fixing meals, and mending clothes. Females express high interest; their average of 3.11 is just above "pretty much." The standard deviation of .55 is smallest among the interest measures, showing homogeneity of interests among females. Males show low interest in nurturance -- 2.52. This is not as low as females' interest in mechanics, but it is .98SD units below the females.

In sum males are characterized by extremely high interest in athletics, high interest in mechanics and science, and low interest in nurturance. Females show highest interest in nurturance, somewhat less but high interest in science and athletics, and a definite lack of interest in mechanical activities. The contrast between females and males is most sharply drawn when it comes to mechanical interest, next with athletics and helping, and least by their interest in science. In other terms, in late childhood mechanics is extremely sex-typed. Athletics and helping are also strongly sex-typed. Science -- while a little more popular with boys -- is not very sex-typed at all.

Grade and Race Differences

The above picture is based on average scores for children in grades four through six. How do these interests evolve during these years? Does the pattern vary for the three racial groups of interest in this study? The data are shown in Table 2.2, which show separately by gender the bivariate relationship of the interest measures with both grade and race. Although interactions with grade and race are not displayed here, they will be noted in the text when relevant. Statistical tests are based on one-way and two-way analyses of variance. Statistical significance entries in the table refer to the results of an overall F-test of the classification variable.

Table 2.2
Grade and Race Differences In Childhood Interests

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Sample Sizes									
Females	(1346)	(425)	(386)	(535)	-	(776)	(357)	(213)	-
Males	(1400)	(477)	(384)	(539)	-	(858)	(357)	(185)	-
Interest in Athletics									
Females	2.79	2.70	2.83	2.83	.03	2.75	2.92	2.75	.00
std dev	.77	.80	.76	.76		.78	.72	.80	
Males	3.44	3.49	3.47	3.39	.02	3.39	3.58	3.42	.00
std dev	.59	.59	.59	.58		.61	.50	.63	
Interest in Mechanics									
Females	1.92	1.91	1.95	1.91	ns	1.88	2.00	1.93	.02
std dev	.65	.67	.66	.63		.65	.65	.67	
Males	2.84	2.85	2.90	2.80	ns	2.85	2.81	2.86	ns
std dev	.63	.64	.63	.61		.62	.64	.63	
Interest in Science									
Females	2.79	3.00	2.80	2.61	.00	2.80	2.82	2.72	ns
std dev	.64	.58	.64	.63		.64	.61	.66	
Males	2.94	3.09	2.98	2.80	.00	2.92	2.98	2.98	ns
std dev	.65	.61	.65	.65		.67	.61	.63	
Interest in Nurturance									
Females	3.11	3.17	3.16	3.03	.00	3.09	3.23	3.02	.00
std dev	.55	.52	.53	.57		.55	.49	.58	
Males	2.52	2.57	2.63	2.42	.00	2.41	2.78	2.62	.00
std dev	.65	.69	.62	.61		.65	.57	.63	

Interest in Athletics. As noted above there are large differences in athletic interest between males and females. Considering race and grade differences for females first; Black females show higher interest than White or Mexican-American females, and all females show an increase in athletic interest between fourth and fifth grade. The dynamics for athletics, however, lies in the interaction of grade and race, as shown in Table 2.3. White females show an increase in athletic interest between fourth and fifth grade and a small decline in sixth grade. Black females show high interest in the fourth grade -- higher than even sixth grade Whites. In subsequent years, they show even higher interest in athletics. Mexican-American females show a reverse of the Black pattern; they start out very high in fourth grade and their interest declines in the higher grades.

Table 2.3

Interest in Athletics for Females
By Grade and Race

Race	Grade			Totals
	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	
White	2.60	2.88	2.81	2.75
Black	2.86	2.88	2.99	2.92
Mex-Am	3.08	2.66	2.61	2.75
Totals	2.71	2.83	2.83	2.79

Signif: Race=.00 Grade=.03 RxG=.00

Males express very high interest in athletics. This interest declines slightly over the three grades and does so for all three racial groupings. But this decline is all within a very narrow range at the high interest end of the scale. It is most accurate to think of males retaining their high interest in athletics throughout the upper elementary years.

Interest in Mechanics and Science. For mechanical interest it was noted that there is a very large difference betwe males and females, with males expressing high interest and females very low interest. Table 2.2 shows that this pattern is essentially stable across grades four-six. It holds for the racial groups as well. Scientific interest, however, is quite dynamic. For both males and females there is a sharp decline across the three grades and this pattern holds for all three racial groups.

Interest in Helping Activities. Of the three racial groups Blacks -- both males and females -- express the greatest interest in helping activities. For all groups interest in nurturance declines with increasing age. The decline is very sharp for Mexican-Americans, and less for Whites. Black males parallel Whites with a decline between fifth and sixth grade. But the interest of Black females holds constant throughout the period.

In summary, the grade and race patterns are overwhelmed by the gender differences, but both males and females show several interesting maturation effects across

grades four to six. For both males and females interest in science declines across the three grades; but mechanical interest remains constant. Interest in nurturance declines for both genders. For females athletic interest shows a big increase at the beginning of fifth grade. Racially, there are only two areas of note; Blacks, both females and males, show higher athletic and nurturant interest than either Whites and Mexican-Americans.

INTEREST IN ADULT ROLES

Do children's interests in adult jobs reflect a sex-typed orientation to the roles they will fill as adults? To find out, respondents were asked this question regarding their expectations when they become an adult.

> (Q. 14) When you grow up, do you expect that you will have a job outside the home? (4) Yes, I definitely will; (3) Yes, I probably will; (4) No, I probably will not; (1) No, I definitely will not.

Responses to this question are shown in Table 2.4. The average response of males is 3.54, halfway between "definitely" and "probably" will have a job. Girls are .40SD lower at 3.25; this is a large difference, but on the average girls are still above the "probably" point. More interesting though, is the change for females with increasing age. Their average moves monotonically from 3.09 in grade four to 3.38 in grade six -- a shift of .52SD (based on the standard deviation for all females). Associated with this shift is a sizeable decrease in the standard deviation of responses, showing growing homogeneity

as well. Clearly, females' expectations regarding work outside the home increases during the upper elementary years. This probably reflects a growing realism on their part.

"What do you want to be when you grow up?" The fact that females anticipate working outside the home as adults is not the only -- or even the best -- indication that they expect to play non-traditional roles as women. The type of work they are interested in is also of note. To assess career interests, children of both sexes were asked this question.

> (Q. 6) It will be a long time before you choose an adult job. However, you probably know now that there are some jobs you would not consider doing and others that you would consider doing. What do you think about each of these jobs for yourself? (1) Definitely not consider, (2) probably not consider, (3) probably consider, (4) definitely consider.

The list of jobs presented to them was constructed to represent several different ways of dividing up the world of work. These include sampling from Holland's six basic job types, as well as a grosser distinction between "masculine" and "feminine" jobs. Jobs illustrated in the Freestyle films were included as well as similar, but non-illustrated jobs. All of the 36 jobs on the list meet the criterion of being "familiar" to 9-12 year olds, as determined by three consultants for the career development exercises of the National Assessment of Educational Progress. In some cases job "titles" were supplemented with descriptions to ease

comprehension problems for this age group. The 25 "male" and 11 "female" jobs are presented below with wording exactly as it appears in the questionnaire.

"Male" Jobs

Car mechanic; truck driver; electrician; carpenter; worker in a factory who puts things together (like a car or other machine); machinist (makes parts for machines); boss in a factory; professional athlete; coach; reporter (writes stories for a newspaper); photographer (takes pictures for a newspaper); pharmacist (gives out medicine in a drug store); geologist (scientist who studies rocks and minerals); designer of electrical things like TVs, radios, or calculators; scientist who studies how the weather works; scientist who studies how plants and animals grow; designer of airplanes or rockets; owner of a hardware store; owner of a business which makes things like shoes, toys or furniture; manager of a motel or hotel; owner of a restaurant; owner of a company which builds houses; sales person in a store who sells cars or televisions or refrigerators; city council member (someone elected to run a city); someone who sorts mail in the post office.

"Female" Jobs

Nurse; school teacher; librarian; dental assistant (clean people's teeth or help dentist fix their teeth); occupational therapist (help sick or old people learn new skills); teacher of children who have problems with seeing or hearing; homemaker -- a father or mother who stays home and cares for the children, cooks meals and cleans the house; secretary; bookkeeper (keep records of money spent and received by a business); check-out clerk at a grocery or discount store; telephone operator.

Male and Female Jobs. The data are easiest to appreciate if the response scale is first collapsed, such that responses of "definitely" and "probably would consider" are treated the same. If a child gave either of these responses to a particular job it was interpreted as meaning that he or she would "consider" this job. On the average, males and females in the study "considered" the same number

Table 2.4

Grade and Race Differences in Adult Interests

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Sample Sizes									
Females	(1346)	(425)	(386)	(535)	-	(776)	(357)	(213)	-
Males	(1400)	(477)	(384)	(539)	-	(858)	(357)	(185)	-
Q. 14: Expect to have a job outside home?									
Females	3.25	3.09	3.26	3.38	.00	3.20	3.34	3.21	.01
std dev	.58	.84	.78	.61		.73	.83	.66	
Males	3.54	3.51	3.51	3.59	ns	3.55	3.49	3.56	ns
std dev	.72	.77	.74	.66		.68	.83	.67	
Number of jobs "considered" (max.=36)									
Females	17.0	16.8	17.8	16.3	.03	14.6	20.7	19.1	.00
Males	16.8	17.7	17.7	15.4	.00	14.6	20.3	20.6	.00
Proportion "considered" that are "male"									
Females	.55	.55	.55	.54	ns	.52	.59	.56	.00
Males	.82	.81	.80	.84	.00	.85	.77	.80	.00
Average consideration given "Realistic" jobs									
Females	1.92	1.88	1.94	1.93	ns	1.77	2.16	2.06	.00
std dev	.64	.64	.67	.62		.57	.65	.73	
Males	2.57	2.60	2.60	2.52	ns	2.46	2.72	2.83	.00
std dev	.68	.70	.71	.66		.67	.68	.69	
Average consideration given "Investigative" jobs									
Females	2.19	2.29	2.22	2.09	.00	2.02	2.45	2.42	.00
std dev	.72	.77	.72	.66		.66	.70	.75	
Males	2.59	2.71	2.63	2.46	.00	2.48	2.77	2.82	.00
std dev	.75	.77	.73	.72		.72	.76	.78	

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Average consideration given "Artistic" jobs									
Females	2.56	2.46	2.58	2.62	.03	2.41	2.84	2.69	.00
std dev	.92	.94	.97	.86		.90	.92	.92	
Males	2.61	2.61	2.66	2.56	ns	2.48	2.80	2.85	.00
std dev	.96	1.01	.96	.90		.92	.97	.95	
Average consideration given "Social" jobs									
Females	2.86	2.89	2.90	2.80	.03	2.73	3.05	3.04	.00
std dev	.58	.62	.57	.57		.57	.53	.60	
Males	2.23	2.27	2.32	2.14	.00	2.07	2.53	2.48	.00
std dev	.61	.64	.62	.56		.54	.59	.69	
Average consideration given "Enterprising" jobs									
Females	2.48	2.52	2.58	2.38	.00	2.25	2.86	2.73	.00
std dev	.77	.79	.77	.73		.69	.77	.75	
Males	2.57	2.65	2.63	2.46	.00	2.38	2.90	2.87	.00
std dev	.82	.85	.83	.78		.78	.79	.79	
Average consideration given "Conventional" jobs									
Females	2.66	2.69	2.71	2.60	.05	2.49	2.93	2.84	.00
std dev	.74	.79	.73	.69		.72	.69	.69	
Males	2.06	2.17	2.15	1.91	.00	1.90	2.32	2.36	.00
std dev	.78	.81	.82	.69		.71	.78	.88	

1) Response scale: Definitely yes=4, probably yes=3, probably no=2, definitely no=1.
2) "Considered" = "probably" or "definitely" would consider when it's time to choose an adult job.

of jobs -- about 17 out of a possible 36. By grade, the number of jobs decreases between fourth and sixth grades. Racially there are quite sizeable differences. Among females, Whites are interested in 15 jobs, Blacks in 21, and Mexican Americans 19. Given the grade data it may be that a smaller list of jobs shows a maturing of interests, reflecting greater discrimination; not all jobs are suitable for everyone. By this argument the higher number of jobs considered by Black and Mexican-Americans could be interpreted as showing less maturity of interests -- they are unrealistically keeping open too many options. Whether these data should be interpreted in a "career interest maturity" framework (Crites, 1969) or, more simply, in a response set framework is unclear.

Of additional interest is the proportion of considered jobs which are sex typed masculine. As shown in Table 2.4, on the average, 55 percent of the jobs preferenced by girls are masculine compared to 82 percent of those preferenced by boys. There is no interpretable variation by grade, and very small differences by race. White females have the lowest percentage of male jobs in their lists. It appears that by the upper elementary years boys and girls view the type of work in which they might participate one day in strongly sex typed fashion.

Holland Job Types. Additional insight into children's thinking in this regard is provided by another categorization of the jobs. The 36 jobs can be divided into

groups according to the Holland occupational scheme. John Holland, a vocational psychologist, has developed a theory of occupational choice that has particular relevance for sex-role research (Holland, 1966). He postulates that all people can be classified into one of six basic personality orientations or types. Associated with each of these types is a cluster of jobs to which people of that type gravitate. As a result, jobs can be characterized according to the dominant type of person filling the job. The relevance for this study is the fact that several of the six personality types, and hence job clusters, are characterized as "masculine" or "feminine." A brief description of each of the types and their associated occupations appears below. The exemplary occupations in the descriptions are those in the Freestyle list of 36, a listing purposively constructed to sample each of these six types.

Holland Job Categories[1]

> REALISTIC. The model type is masculine, physically strong, unsociable, aggressive; has good motor coordination and skill; lacks verbal and interpersonal skills; prefers concrete to abstract problems; conceives of himself as being aggressive and masculine and as having conventional political and economic values. Persons who choose or prefer the following occupations resemble this type: [examples used in the Freestyle research are] car mechanic, truck driver, electrician, carpenter, worker in a factory who puts things together (like a car or other machine), machinist (makes parts for machines).
>
> INVESTIGATIVE. The model type is task-oriented, intraceptive, asocial; prefers to think through rather than act out problems; needs to understand; enjoys ambiguous work tasks; has unconventional values and attitudes; is anal as opposed to oral. Vocational

preferences include: pharmacist, geologist, electrical engineer, meteorologist, biologist, aeronautical engineer.

SOCIAL. The model type is sociable, responsible, feminine, humanistic, religious; needs attention; has verbal and interpersonal skills; avoids intellectual problem solving, physical activity, and highly ordered activities; prefers to solve problems through feelings and interpersonal manipulations of others; is orally dependent. Vocational preferences include nurse, professional athlete, coach, school teacher, librarian, dental assistant, occupational therapist, teacher of children who have problems with seeing or hearing, homemaker.

CONVENTIONAL. The model type prefers structured verbal and numerical activities and subordinate roles; is conforming (extraceptive); avoids ambiguous situations and problems involving interpersonal relationships and physical skills; is effective at well-structured tasks; identifies with power; values material possessions and status. Vocational preferences include: secretary, postal clerk, bookkeeper, check-out clerk at a grocery or discount store, telephone operator.

ENTERPRISING. The model type has verbal skills for selling, dominating, leading; conceives of himself as a strong, masculine leader; avoids well-defined language or work situations requiring long periods of intellectual effort; is extraceptive; differs from the Conventional type in that he prefers ambiguous social tasks and has a greater concern with power, status, and leadership; is orally aggressive. Vocational preferences include owner of a hardware store, owner of a business which makes things like shoes or toys or furniture, manager of a motel or hotel, owner of a restaurant, owner of a company which builds houses, sales person in a store who sells cars or televisions or refrigerators, city council member.

ARTISTIC. The model type is asocial; avoids problems that are highly structured or require gross physical skills; resembles the Intellectual type in being intraceptive and asocial; but differs from that type in that he has a need for individualistic expression, has less ego strength, is more feminine, and suffers more frequently from emotional disturbances; prefers dealing with environmental problems through self-expression in artistic media. Vocational preferences include newspaper reporter or photographer.

From the descriptions it is clear that the most "feminine" jobs are in the Social and Conventional categories, while the most "masculine" are in the Realistic and Enterprising categories.

The essence of Holland's theory concerns the way in which personality types and job types become linked. He posits that individuals seek out job environments where the predominant personality type matches their own personality type. To make this match individuals utilize stereotypes of people who work in different jobs. While these stereotypes are complex amalgams of personal characteristics, what more obvious stereotype is there than the sex of the people who usually hold these jobs?

Classifying children's occupational interests by the Holland scheme provides interesting insights. Figure 2.2 displays the data by gender. Girls are most interested in Social and Conventional jobs, and are different from the boys in this respect. The gap between the sexes is quite large, .63SD and .93SD. Girls also express an interest in Artistic and Enterprising jobs, but they are not different from the boys in this respect. Boys are distinguished from girls by their greater interest in Realistic and Investigative jobs; the gaps here are .88SD and .54SD.

Curiously, the profile does not show a large gender difference for Enterprising jobs. Yet in the public debate on sex equity it is access to jobs in this category that is central to the demands for gender equity. Perhaps for

children of this age Enterprising jobs are not visible enough to have mobilized differential interest along gender lines. Most upper elementary children may be quite unaware of the nature of such work as managing a hotel, or exercising political power in the position of city council member.

The differences by grade are few. Only three of the job classifications -- Investigative, Conventional, and Enterprising --show interesting patterns (see Table 2.4). Interest in Investigative (scientific) jobs drops monotonically from fourth to sixth grade for both gender -- females by .27SD and males by .34SD. This parallels what was seen for interest in childhood activities of a scientific nature. For males interest in Conventional jobs drops by one-third of a standard deviation between fourth and sixth grade. Curiously, for Enterprising jobs there is a modest decline for both males and females at the beginning of sixth grade. By and large, however, the sex typed pattern seen at the beginning of fourth grade persists unchanged through the upper elementary years.

Racial patterns are displayed in Figures 2.3 and 2.4. The first of these profiles shows the interest patterns of females. The visual impression is supported by the data in Table 2.5 which shows the difference in SD units between Whites and the average of the two other racial groups. In general the profiles are parallel, with Black and Mexican-American children expressing higher interest in all jobs

than Whites. On the average minority females are .56SD higher. This suggests that the differences reflect a response set more than a real differential interest level. The patterns diverge somewhat with Enterprising jobs. Here the interests of both minority groups is higher by .71SD.

Figure 2.4 displays the data for minority males. The profiles are not quite parallel. There is a noticeable divergence between Whites and minorities for three categories. Minorities express higher interest in Social, Enterprising, and Conventional jobs. The higher interest of Black children in Social jobs parallels their higher interest in nurturant childhood activities.

The grade pattern described above applies equally for all three racial groupings. There are no grade-by-race interactions.

SUMMARY

Variations in children's interests in childhood activities are dominated by the gender factor. Boys are characterized by extremely high interest in athletics, high interest in mechanics and science, and low interest in nurturance. Girls show highest interest in nurturance, somewhat less but high interest in science and athletics, and a total lack of interest in mechanical activities. The contrast between girls and boys is most sharply drawn when it comes to mechanical interest, next with athletics and helping, and least by their interest in science.

Table 2.5
Race Differences for Interest
in Holland Job Categories

Holland Job Category	Difference in SD Units Between Whites and Pooled Average of Blacks and Mex-Am	
	Females	Males
Realistic	.53	.46
Investigative	.57	.43
Enterprising	.71	.62
Artistic	.49	.36
Conventional	.54	.56
Social	.53	.71
AVERAGE	.56	.52

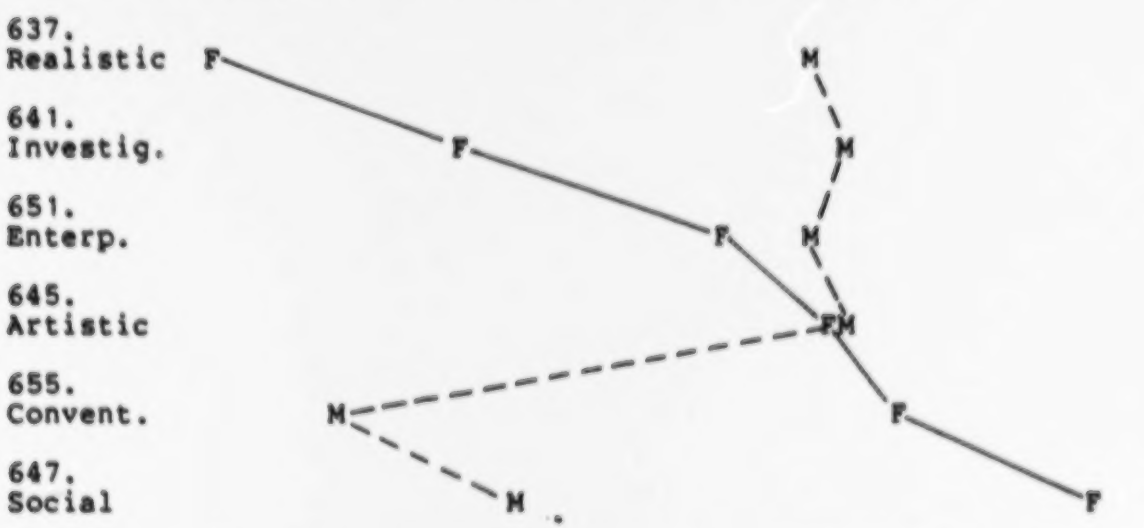
Grade and race. Boys' high interest in athletics is constant across grades four to six. This pertains for all racial groups. For girls, athletic interest increases with age, especially between fifth and sixth grade. For both genders interest in nurturant activities shows a steady decline across the years. Scientific interest also shows a steady decline for both genders, while mechanical interest remains constant -- high for boys and low for girls. The only two areas in which racial differences were noted was in athletic and nurturant interests. Black boys and girls both show higher interest in these areas than Whites or Mexican-

Americans. The patterns of change across the upper elementary years are similar for all of the racial groupings.

When children think about adult roles, sex typing is also evident. This is seen in an analysis of the lists of jobs which they say they would "consider" when they become adults. For girls the percentage of jobs that are "masculine" is 55 percent while for boys the percentage is 82. Looking more closely at their lists, girls express highest interest in Social and Conventional jobs. The former can be thought of as "people" jobs (teacher, social worker) while the latter include the lower status clerical jobs that women have traditionally entered over the years. By contrast, boys' preferences are strongest for Realistic and Investigative jobs. The former includes electrician, plumber and mechanic, and the latter all of the high status scientific jobs such as engineer, geologist or pharmacist.

For the most part these interests are stable across grades four to six. For boys, however, interest in Conventional jobs declines to an even lower point; and both genders evidence a declining interest in scientific jobs. Associated with race is a higher interest for minorities in Enterprising, Conventional, and Social jobs.

Figure 2.2: Gender Differences in Adult Job Interests



GENDER	FEMALES	MALES
SYMBOL	"F"	"M"
N	1167	1245

Figure 2.3: Racial Differences in Adult Job Interests (Females)

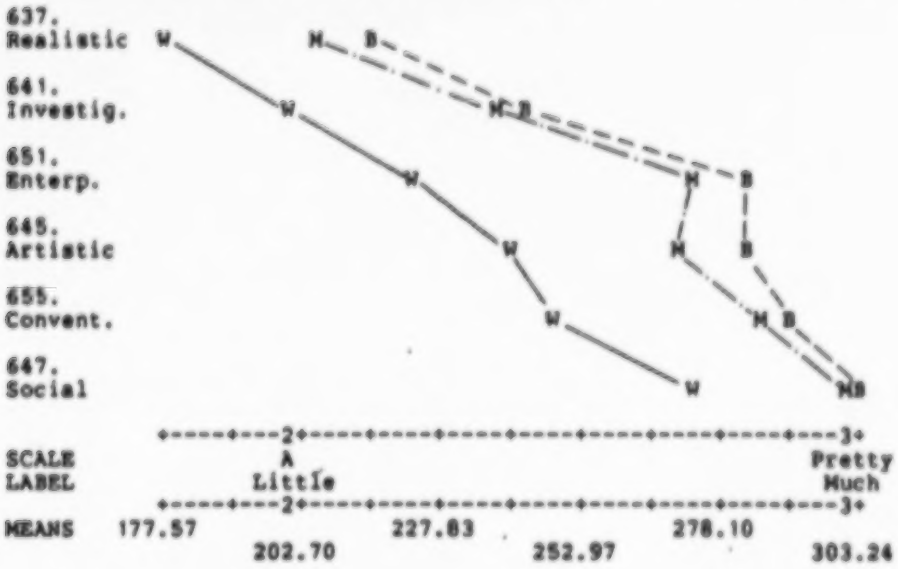
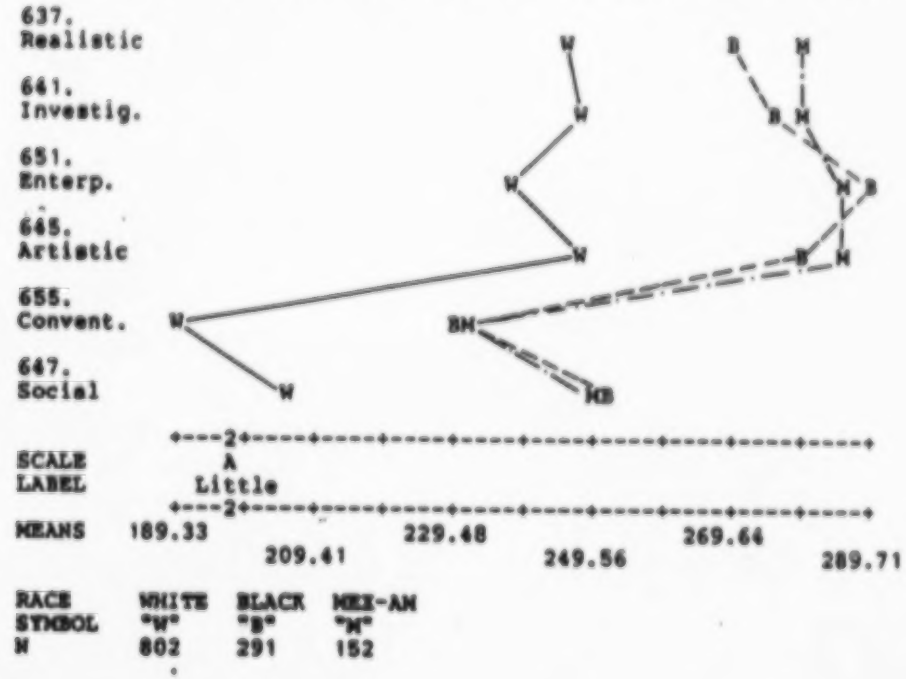


Figure 2.4: Racial Differences in Adult Jobs Interests (Males)



NOTES

[1]From Holland, 1966, pp. 16-17. Reprinted with permission of the author.

Chapter Three

CHILDREN'S SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes are oversimplified or distorted beliefs about the characteristics of all people who belong to a group.[1] When beliefs concern gender characteristics they are called sex-role stereotypes. By this definition the beliefs that girls in general do not have mechanical ability or possess leadership skills are stereotypes about girls.

Stereotypes have a prominent place in the sex equity arena. While the relationship of stereotypes to behavior may not be strong, it can be argued that they influence girls' and boys' choices of activities. They limit the aspirations of individuals as well as the expectations of those who are in a position to support or discourage the behaviors of these individuals. Implicit in this assertion is a model of human behavior in which individuals possess a hierarchy of interests, only a few of which are expressed in current behavior. Expression of new interests depends on three factors: opportunity, strength of interest, and societal reinforcement. For example, a girl with a hidden interest in mechanics may not take advantage of opportunities to try out activities with a mechanical aspect to them if she thinks the activities are inappropriate for girls. Her belief is itself influenced by the beliefs of

"significant others" (peers, parents, teachers, admired others) who regularly sanction appropriate behavior through their comments or through opportunities they make available to the individual. According to this model, sex-role stereotypes play a role in maintaining gender-specific behaviors. Inasmuch as the behaviors relate, in turn, to adult job and family roles they are of interest to study in young children.

CHILDHOOD ACTIVITIES

How do children perceive the competence of males and females in activities that are non-traditional for their gender? Do they think girls are incompetent at traditionally masculine activities such as football or auto mechanics? Do they believe boys are capable at nurturing activities such as tutoring or child care? In the Freestyle project measures were developed to assess children's beliefs about the proportion of boys and girls who are competent in each of a number of sex typed domains, including the more masculine mechanical, athletic and leadership areas and the more feminine nurturant or helping areas. The measures of these beliefs, like the other measures in the study, are multiple-item indices. The response task presented to children is simple. For each activity, they were asked to estimate the proportion of boys/girls who are "good at" performing it. For example, beliefs about the proportion of girls who are good at mechanical activities is measured with three items:

Girls in Mechanical Activities: How many girls are good at: (2a) fixing a broken bike, (2b) fixing a car motor, (2c) building a radio or something that runs on electricity.

Response choices are "all" (scored as 5), "most," "some," "a few," and "none" (scored as 1). The index is constructed by averaging the responses to these three items. The ingredients of some of the other indices of masculine activities are shown below.

Girls in Athletic Activities: How many girls are good at (4a) playing football, (4e) playing basketball [5=all, 1=none].

Boys in Football: How many boys are good at (5c) playing football [5=all, 1=none]. (This single item was included in the questionnaire to permit comparison with the girls' football item, 4a.)

Girls in Leadership Roles: Think about girls as leaders of groups that have both boys and girls in them. How many girls are good at: (17a) organizing things for the group to do, (17b) giving each group member a job which they can do well; (17d) having good ideas about what the group should do; (17e) listening to the ideas of other group members. [5=all, 1=none].

Boys in Leadership Roles: Next, think about boys as leaders of these groups... [same items as for girls -- 18a, b, d, e].

Beliefs about nurturance among boys and girls were assessed with the following questions.

Boys' Nurturance Skills: Now think about how many boys and girls your age are good at helping others do the kinds of things we've just been talking about. First think about boys. How many BOYS your age are good at: (20a) helping to take care of a younger child, (20b) understanding why a child misbehaves, (20c) tutoring younger students, that is, helping them to learn things, (20d) figuring out what would make someone happy, (20e) helping older people with what they need, (20f) knowing when to help someone and when not to. [5=all of them, 1=none of them]

Girls' Nurturance Skills: How about girls; how many GIRLS your age are good at: (21a-f; same as items 20a-f for boys.)

Presentation of One's Own Gender Group

The question to be answered with the data is basically this: are girls/boys perceived to be competent in activity areas most commonly associated with the opposite gender? To answer this question it is necessary to know how respondents use the scale. What portions of the scale represents estimates of high and low competence? The answer is complicated, because respondents appear to be influenced by "social desirability" in some domains, depending apparently on the amount of defensiveness they feel with respect to their own gender group.

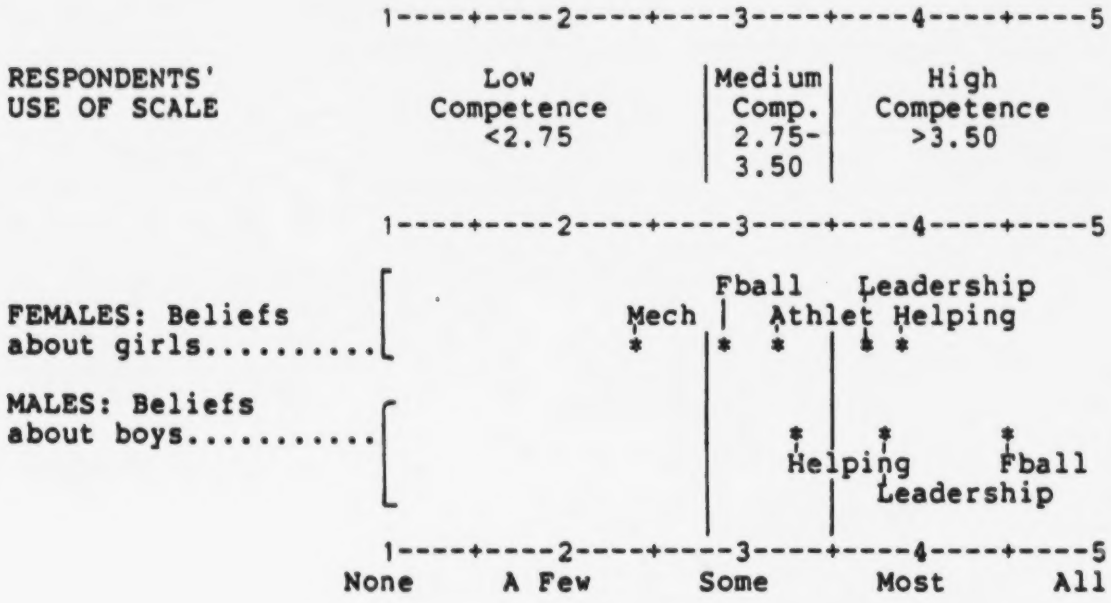
Portions of the scale corresponding to estimates of high, medium and low competence were established based on the data from each gender's estimate of the skills of their own group. This is shown in Figure 3.1; the data underlying the figure can be found in Table 3.1. The activity areas included in this figure are the ones least affected by social desirability. Females judge that "most" girls are good at helping (mean = 3.90) and leadership (3.63) activities. They consider "some" girls to be competent at athletics (3.19), and between "a few" and "some" good at mechanics (2.41). Males estimate that almost "all" of their own gender group are good at football (4.52); "most" are good at leadership (3.79), and between "some" and "most" are good at helping (3.30). If football is considered the

domain of boys and helping the domain of girls, then responses of 3.90 or higher clearly represent estimates of high competence. Estimates just below 3.90 might also be included. Both females and males estimate that between "some" and "most" of their respective group are competent in leadership (3.63 and 3.79 respectively). Both estimates are close to females' estimate of their own group's competence at helping, and quite some distance from their estimate of competence at athletics. For this reason, the range of high competence is extended below 3.9 to include leadership activities; estimates in the range of 3.5 to 5.0 will be considered estimates of high competence.

The data on girls in mechanics help define the low end of the competence scale. Females estimate that between a "few" and "some" girls are competent in mechanical endeavors (2.41). Considering the finding in the previous chapter that females show very little interest in mechanics, this scale point is interpreted as a judgment that girls have low competence in mechanics.

Beliefs about competence in two other "opposite gender" domains help define the mid-range. Males estimate that "some" boys are good at nurturant activities (3.30). It is not uncommon to see males undertaking helping activities, such as caring for a younger child or tutoring, and showing modest interest in doing these activities. A larger percentage of boys would likely be seen as competent in nurturance than girls in mechanics. A similar argument

Figure 3.1: Beliefs About the Competence of Boys and Girls in Childhood Activities



GENDER:	FEMALES	MALES
N	1150	1250

can be made for girls in athletic activities. Females estimate that "some" of their own sex are good in this domain (3.19), and that is reasonably the case. (An exception -- at least for 1978 -- might be made for girls in football.) The data on these pairings suggest defining the range 2.75 to 3.5 as estimates of medium competence and below 2.75 as estimates of low competence.

Defending your gender's "turf". When beliefs about the competence of the opposite gender are added, the phenomenon of group defensiveness can be seen. First, consider boys and girls in leadership positions. The leadership index described earlier contains an assessment of a gender group's ability to perform competently in leadership positions -- organize activities, delegate responsibility, listen to group members' ideas, and generate good ideas for group activities. Consider this to be an index of positive leadership qualities. Figure 3.2 (lines 1 and 2) shows each gender's judgments of the leadership abilities of their own group and that of the opposite gender. Males and females both consider their own gender to be highly competent and the opposite gender only medium in competence.

Respondents were also asked whether girls/boys are too bossy when they lead a group, and if they give all the good jobs to their own gender. Consider this to be an index of negative leadership qualities. The responses (Figure 3.2,

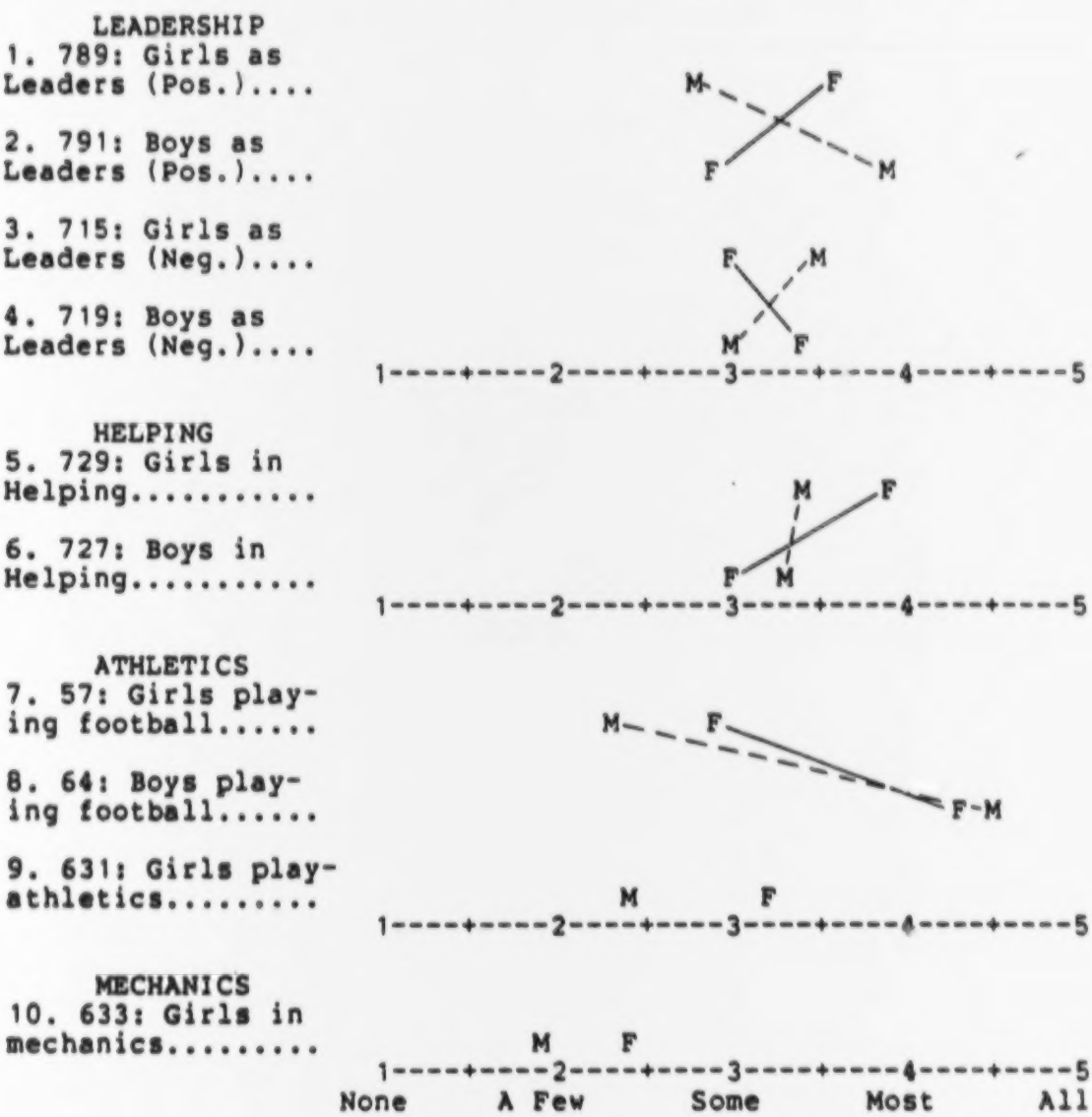
Table 3.1
Gender, Grade and Race Differences in Beliefs About Competence in Childhood Sex Roles[1]

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Sample Sizes									
Females	(1346)	(425)	(386)	(535)	-	(776)	(357)	(213)	-
Males	(1400)	(477)	(384)	(539)	-	(858)	(357)	(185)	-
Proportion of girls good at athletics (football and basketball)									
Females	3.19	3.22	3.16	3.19	ns	3.17	3.24	3.17	ns
std dev	.78	.86	.79	.69		.71	.87	.84	
Males	2.42	2.33	2.41	2.50	.02	2.36	2.48	2.57	.01
std dev	.93	1.03	.91	.85		.88	1.00	1.01	
Proportion of girls good at football									
Females	2.91	2.94	2.88	2.91	ns	2.95	2.83	2.89	ns
std dev	.92	1.04	.91	.84		.83	1.05	1.02	
Males	2.26	2.19	2.28	2.31	ns	2.21	2.28	2.45	.01
std dev	.98	1.10	.97	.86		.90	1.08	1.12	
Proportion of boys good at football									
Females	4.26	4.20	4.27	4.31	ns	4.31	4.22	4.17	ns
std dev	.85	.98	.94	.65		.71	1.02	1.01	
Males	4.52	4.64	4.54	4.41	.00	4.54	4.51	4.46	ns
std dev	.69	.66	.77	.65		.62	.76	.88	
Proportion of girls good at mechanics									
Females	2.41	2.56	2.37	2.32	.00	2.44	2.35	2.38	ns
std dev	.81	.97	.76	.68		.76	.88	.86	
Males	1.96	1.96	1.99	1.94	ns	1.96	1.88	2.15	.00
std dev	.81	.91	.81	.71		.75	.82	1.00	
Proportion of girls good at nurturance									
Females	3.90	4.01	3.89	3.82	.00	3.87	3.94	3.90	ns
std dev	.70	.72	.73	.65		.68	.72	.74	
Males	3.38	3.29	3.44	3.42	.03	3.34	3.50	3.39	.03
std dev	.91	1.03	.90	.79		.92	.87	.93	

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Proportion of boys good at nurturance									
Females	2.94	2.99	2.96	2.88	ns	2.89	2.96	3.11	.00
std dev	.73	.74	.72	.71		.68	.77	.79	
Males	3.30	3.55	3.32	3.08	.00	3.26	3.39	3.34	.03
std dev	.77	.78	.77	.69		.77	.75	.76	
Proportion of girls good at leadership									
Females	3.63	3.72	3.57	3.59	.00	3.65	3.62	3.55	ns
std dev	.66	.71	.70	.58		.61	.73	.72	
Males	2.81	2.70	2.81	2.92	.00	2.77	2.87	2.88	ns
std dev	.86	.91	.88	.77		.85	.87	.87	
Proportion of boys good at leadership									
Females	2.94	2.85	2.92	3.01	.01	2.94	2.85	3.07	.01
std dev	.80	.88	.81	.71		.76	.86	.83	
Males	3.79	3.96	3.82	3.61	.00	3.80	3.74	3.84	ns
std dev	.78	.78	.80	.72		.75	.84	.74	

[1]Response scale for all indices: 5=all, 4=most, 3=some, 2=a few, 1=none

Figure 3.2: Gender Differences in Beliefs About the Competence of Boys and Girls in Childhood Activities


LEADERSHIP
1. 789: Girls as Leaders (Pos.)....
2. 791: Boys as Leaders (Pos.)....
3. 715: Girls as Leaders (Neg.)....
4. 719: Boys as Leaders (Neg.)....
HELPING
5. 729: Girls in Helping.....
6. 727: Boys in Helping.....
ATHLETICS
7. 57: Girls playing football.....
8. 64: Boys playing football.....
9. 631: Girls play-athletics.....
MECHANICS
10. 633: Girls in mechanics.....
1----+----2----+----3----+----4----+----5
None A Few Some Most All
"How many boys/girls are good at...?"

GENDER:	FEMALES	MALES
SYMBOL:	"F"	"M"
N	1150	1250

lines 3 and 4) show the same pattern. Males think girl leaders are too bossy but not so their own gender; females think the same thing occurs when groups are led by boys.

Competence in nurturant activities (indices 5 and 6) shows a second pattern. Females estimate that their own gender is highly competent in helping activities and boys modestly competent. Males, on the other hand, judge both genders to be only modestly competent. Here the boys appear less defensive about their own group. Perhaps they value helping skills less and do not care to claim exaggerated competence.

Next, consider athletics (Figure 3.2, lines 7 and 8). (The single item on football must be used instead of the index of athletics, because it is the only sport for which there are data about the competence of both boys and girls.) Males and females are largely in agreement that most boys are competent at this sport. They also agree that girls are less competent, although males have a considerably lower estimate of this than females. While females rate girls higher in ability, it is not coupled with a corresponding depreciation of the ability of boys. Finally, in the domain of mechanics males and females share the view that "few" girls are good at mechanics, although again the average ratings of females is one-half SD higher than that of males.

Grade and Race Differences

Leadership. For the positive leadership qualities there are no racial differences, but there is an interesting maturation effect. As females get older they revise downward their estimate of the number of girls with good leadership qualities and revise upward their estimate of the number of boys. A similar phenomenon occurs for males; they revise downward their estimate of boys and up their estimate of girls. It appears that between the ages of about 9 and 12 each group becomes less defensive and protective of their own gender group. Each of the three racial groups shows the same pattern of change with age.

Helping. Beliefs about boys and girls in helping activities show a similar pattern, but with a different twist. Females revise downward their estimate of the number of girls who are good at helping. But their estimate of the number of boys is constant over the years. Females in grades four, five, and six estimate that less than "some" males are good at helping. Males fit the "declining defensiveness pattern" perfectly. They increase their estimate of the number of girls who are good at helping and revise downwards their estimate of boys. In fact beliefs about their own group's abilities in this domain decline by sixth grade to a point quite close to the estimate females had throughout the period.

Athletics. Beliefs about girls in football display yet another defensiveness pattern. At first glance females and males appear somewhat in agreement that most boys -- but only some girls -- are good at football. But each gender has a lower estimate of the opposite gender's ability. Females are one-third SD lower than males in estimating boys' abilities; males are three-quarters SD lower than females in their judgment of girls. Between age 9 and 12 males' estimate of the number of competent boys moves downward closer to that of females, and their estimate of competent girls increases.' This fits with an interpretation that males are defensive about the athletic domain at age 9, but that the defensiveness declines with age.

From fourth to sixth grade females do not change their estimate of their own gender's ability; they think "some" girls are good at athletics. This estimate is somewhat lower than estimates for girls as leaders and girls in helping tasks. Perhaps like males and helping, females actually see a limited number of competent girls in athletics and, importantly, do not feel the need to be perceived as competent in this domain.

There are some differences by race. Among males, Blacks and Mexican-Americans estimate more girls are competent at athletics than Whites.

Mechanics. For the domain of mechanics only beliefs regarding the competence of girls were assessed. Males estimate that only "a few" girls are good in this domain, and this remains constant from grade four to six. Younger Mexican-American males appear different. In fourth grade their estimate is higher than the other two groups, but by sixth grade it drops to the average for all males.

The estimate of females is one-half standard deviation higher than males; while higher, this corresponds to a point only half way between "a few" and "some." Clearly, neither gender perceives mechanics to be the domain of girls. On the average females drop .30SD between fourth and sixth grade to a point just above "a few" -- quite close to the estimate made by boys throughout this period. The decline is even bigger for Blacks and for Mexican-American females. Is this another example of declining defensiveness? To address the issue with certainty data would be needed on beliefs about boys in mechanics, but the data certainly fit the pattern.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these data. First, fourth graders demarcate the domains of boys and girls much more sharply than sixth graders -- i.e., fourth graders view the world as more sex-typed. Part of this pattern involves a "gender defensiveness" in which younger males and females claim high competence in childhood activities for their own gender and deprecate the competence of the opposite gender. As the children get older the defensiveness declines; the

estimates of males and females come much closer together, reflecting a more shared view of the world, albeit still a world in which boys and girls are differentially competent. The most compelling explanation for this shift is that personal identity is closely tied to gender identity in fourth grade, but that identity shifts to more personal and idiosyncratic dimensions over this period.

ADULT JOB AND FAMILY ROLES

Beliefs about gender distribution in adult job and family roles were also measured. There are six indices: beliefs about the proportion of men and women currently in "male" and "female" jobs, the amount of "male household work" done by wives and "female household work" done by husbands; and finally, the extent to which wives and husbands earn money to support the family.

Adult Jobs

The items measuring beliefs about work roles are shown below.

> Gender Distribution in Traditionally Male Jobs: What do you think is true today? How many of the people who do each of these jobs are men and how many are women? (7q) car mechanic, (7b) truck driver, (7e) machinist (makes parts for machines), (7f) pharmacist (gives out medicine in a drugstore), (7g) owner of a hardware store, (7h) city council member (someone elected to run a city), (7i) geologist (scientist who studies rocks and minerals), (7j) worker in a factory who puts things together like a car), (7l) sales person in a store who sells cars or TVs or refrigerators.
>
> Gender Distribution in Traditionally Female Jobs: How many of the people who do each of these jobs are men and how many are women? (7c) nurse, (7d) secretary

(7k) telephone operator (7o) dental assistant (cleans people's teeth or helps dentist fix their teeth, (7p) teacher of children who have problems with seeing or hearing, (7q) occupational therapist (help sick or old people learn new skills).

For each of the items in these indices there is a five-point response scale.

1) Almost all are MEN
2) More than half are MEN
3) About half are men, half are women
4) More than half are WOMEN
5) Almost all are WOMEN

The jobs are a subset of the list used to assess children's job interests (see Chapter 2). Included are extremes in jobs traditionally dominated by one gender or another: thus, truck driver and mechanic are on the male list and secretary and nurse on the female list.

Consider the traditionally male jobs first. The data are shown in Table 3.2. Not surprisingly, both boys and girls think more than half the people in these jobs are men. But there are differences between boys and girls. The estimate of girls is closer to the point on the scale corresponding to an equal number of men and women. The difference between the means of boys and girls is quite large, .45SD. It can be said that boys view male jobs in more sex-typed terms than females.

When children think about female jobs both genders estimate that more than half of the people in these jobs are women, and boys and girls are very close in their view of things.

There are interesting differences by grade. For male jobs the estimate of girls shifts toward the more sex-typed view held by boys. For female jobs both boys and girls shift to reflect the more sex-typed view that most people in these jobs are women. With age, then, the world of adult jobs is perceived as more and more sex-typed.

There are large racial differences. Whites perceive adult jobs as very sex typed, while both Blacks and Hispanics are more likely to see equal numbers of men and women in all jobs. Is this a real racial difference? It could be less a cultural difference than one of social class. Among lower socio-economic status groups there could be a higher incidence of both parents working, and children in these families could simplistically assume that the jobs filled -- with some obvious exceptions such as nurse -- are similar. The Office of Management and Budget prohibited asking any questions of the children about their parents' employment. However, one test of the hypothesis could be made by looking at racial differences within a school, assuming that the range of socioeconomic status within a school would be quite narrow. Using three different schools with very large numbers of Whites and Blacks the racial differences were still in evidence, suggesting that it is race itself that accounts for the phenomenon.

Table 3.2
Gender, Grade and Race Differences in Beliefs About Adult Roles

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Sample Sizes									
Females	(1346)	(425)	(386)	(535)	-	(776)	(357)	(213)	-
Males	(1400)	(477)	(384)	(539)	-	(858)	(357)	(185)	-
Gender distribution in traditional male jobs[1]									
Females	2.27	2.32	2.28	2.23	.00	2.26	2.33	2.24	.01
std dev	.39	.44	.36	.37		.35	.46	.39	
Males	2.09	2.06	2.09	2.11	ns	2.08	2.10	2.11	ns
std dev	.41	.44	.43	.37		.39	.47	.42	
Gender distribution in traditional female jobs[1]									
Females	3.83	3.80	3.78	3.90	.00	3.91	3.74	3.72	.00
std dev	.47	.48	.47	.46		.43	.47	.58	
Males	3.78	3.71	3.66	3.93	.00	3.88	3.68	3.49	.00
std dev	.57	.61	.58	.50		.48	.63	.73	
Husbands supporting the family financially[1]									
Females	4.23	4.19	4.21	4.26	ns	4.24	4.16	4.30	ns
std dev	.90	.99	.94	.80		.81	1.06	.95	
Males	4.40	4.36	4.40	4.43	ns	4.42	4.34	4.40	ns
std dev	.88	.96	.95	.76		.83	.97	.95	
Wives supporting the family financially[1]									
Females	2.51	2.40	2.54	2.58	.03	2.62	2.31	2.48	.00
std dev	1.07	1.09	1.11	1.03		1.00	1.12	1.20	
Males	2.80	2.79	2.68	2.90	.02	2.91	2.54	2.77	.00
std dev	1.13	1.22	1.15	1.02		1.08	1.14	1.26	
Wives doing male housework[1]									
Females	3.51	3.50	3.56	3.49	ns	3.56	3.41	3.50	ns
std dev	.93	1.00	.95	.86		.86	1.03	1.01	
Males	3.74	3.70	3.68	3.82	.05	3.85	3.64	3.44	.00
std dev	.96	1.05	.98	.85		.85	1.07	1.12	

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Husbands doing female housework[1]									
Females	3.53	3.42	3.51	3.64	.00	3.58	3.46	3.45	.04
std dev	.85	.93	.88	.74		.76	.99	.92	
Males	3.49	3.45	3.49	3.54	ns	3.58	3.34	3.40	.00
std dev	.88	1.00	.88	.76		.82	.95	.98	
Girls helping around home[4]									
Females	3.60	3.60	3.64	3.58	ns	3.58	3.66	3.60	.03
std dev	.49	.51	.49	.48		.48	.49	.54	
Males	3.32	3.23	3.33	3.38	.00	3.28	3.43	3.26	.00
std dev	.70	.78	.73	.59		.70	.65	.77	
Boys helping around home[4]									
Females	2.16	2.27	2.22	2.02	.00	2.06	2.31	2.26	.00
std dev	.70	.79	.71	.61		.66	.74	.75	
Males	2.49	2.53	2.50	2.45	ns	2.42	2.60	2.63	.00
std dev	.75	.82	.70	.72		.74	.76	.73	

[1]Scale: 5=almost all are women, 4=more than half are women, 3=about half are men, half are women, 2=more than half are men, 1=almost all are men.
[3]Scale: 5=all of it, 4=most, 3=some, 2=a little, 1=none.
[3]Scale: 1=all of it, 2=most, 3=some, 4=a little, 5=none of it.
[4]Scale: 4=a lot, 3=some, 2=a little, 1=none.

Adult Family Roles

Beliefs about adult family roles are difficult to measure, especially in an era when the nuclear family with both a husband and wife present is not familiar to all children. To standardize the stimulus, children were read the following:

> (Q. 10) When people get married, they must do things such as earn money, take care of children, and take care of things around the house. The husband and wife must decide who is going to do these things. Think about families you know where there are both a husband and wife. How do husbands and wives divide things up in these families? (Don't think just about your family.)

This introduction was followed by a number of questions contained in the following four index descriptions.

> Proportion of Wives Doing Male Housework: How much is done by wives today? (10a) take care of things around the house (paint the house, fix leaky faucets) (10b) take care of the car (keep it clean, have the oil changed). [5=all of it, 1=none of it]
>
> Proportion of Husbands Doing Female Housework: How much is done by husbands today (10d) grocery shopping, cook the meals, do the dishes (10e) do the house cleaning (dust, vacuum, scrub the floors, clean the bathroom) (10f) take care of the children. [5=all of it, 1=none of it]
>
> Wives Supporting the Family Financially: (10c) How much do wives work to earn money to support the family? [5=none, 1=all]
>
> Husbands Supporting the Family Financially: (10g) How much do husbands work to earn money to support the family? [5=all, 1=none]

Consider first the beliefs about earning money to support the family (Table 3.2). Husbands are thought to earn "most" to "all" of the support, while wives are perceived to earn between "some" and "most" of the support.

The view about husbands is shared by all races across grades 4-6. The view about wives varies by race and age. By race, Blacks report that wives earn the largest share, Hispanics next and Whites least. This may well reflect the reality in the families in these various racial groups. As with beliefs about gender distribution in jobs; there is a grade effect, older students reflect a more sex typed view (i.e., wives earn less of the family income). But this phenomenon occurs mostly for Whites.

Role differentiation in the family concerns more than family income. There are a variety of chores associated with maintaining a family. These are captured in the other two indices. In families in which there is a husband, wife and children, respondents perceive that husbands and wives each do between "a little" and "some" of the chores traditionally associated with the other spouse -- e.g., wives maintaining the car or fixing the plumbing, husbands cleaning house or caring for the children. Girls and boys agree in their estimate of the amount husbands do. But gender defensiveness is apparent for wives doing the husband's chores. Girls think wives do more of these than do boys. As with the job indices, with increasing age there is a perception of greater role differentiation for men and women. Between four and sixth grade, girls think increasingly that husbands do less of the wives' chores, and boys think increasingly that wives do less of the husband's chores.

Black and Hispanic males report more task sharing among husbands and wives. In reports about wives doing the husband's tasks, the difference between White and Hispanic males is a very large .43SD. The differences are smaller (.20SD - .27SD) for the beliefs about husbands doing the wives' tasks.

Two other indexes provide additional support for the notion that Blacks and Hispanics perceive a more egalitarian family structure with respect to gender. These indices asked about boys and girls the age of the respondents helping around the house.

> Boys Helping Around Home: How much time do BOYS your age spend doing each of these things? (12a) help with making meals and washing dishes, (12b) help keep the house clean, (12c) help take care of younger children [4=a lot, 1=none].
>
> Girls Helping Around Home: How much time do GIRLS your age spend doing each of these things? [12e,f,g; same items as above for boys].

The response scale is slightly different for these items:

1) None
2) A little
3) Some
4) A lot

The data appear in Table 3.2. Girls are clearly perceived to spend more time helping around the house. But both males and females among Blacks and Hispanics see boys spending more time helping around home than do Whites.

SUMMARY

How sex typed is the world of nine-to-twelve year olds? Are the domains of life activity carefully demarcated by sex? In short the answer is yes, but some of the answer depends on who you ask -- a boy or girl -- and how old they are. Females think that most girls are competent in nurturant and leadership roles, that some girls are good at athletics, and a few at mechanics. Males think almost all boys are good at athletics, most are good at leadership and some at nurturant activity. In other words, children see differential competence within their own gender. When asked about the opposite gender children also perceive differential competence. With some exceptions children tend to deprecate the ability of the other gender, as though to defend their own group. This is most true for leadership, and somewhat for athletics -- two domains highly valued in society.

The differences in responses between grade four and six indicate that this is a transitional period for children's views. Fourth graders demarcate the domains of boys and girls much more sharply than sixth graders. Another way of saying this is that fourth graders view the world as more sex-typed. Part of this pattern involves a "gender defensiveness" in which younger males and females claim high competence in childhood activities for their own gender and deprecate the competence of the opposite gender. As the children get older the defensiveness declines; the

estimates of males and females come much closer together, reflecting a more shared view of the world, albeit still a world in which boys and girls are differentially competent. The most compelling explanation for this shift is that personal identity is closely tied to gender identity in fourth grade, but that identity shifts to more personal and idiosyncratic dimensions by sixth grade.

There are very few differences by race. Most notable is the tendency for Black and Mexican-American males to perceive higher numbers of girls competent in athletics.

Perceptions of the adult world also reflect sex-typed views, but with a different pattern across the upper elementary years. When thinking about adult jobs that are traditionally filled by women, both boys and girls see them as dominated by women -- increasingly so as they get older. But boys and girls view "male" jobs differently. Boys think of them in more sex stereotypic terms than girls; i.e., perceive them as filled mostly by men. Girls think there is more of a mix of men and women. But again, by sixth grade the girls reflect a more sex-typed view that "male" jobs are filled primarily by men.

A similar phenomenon can be seen for adult family roles. In fourth grade wives are seen as earning some of the family income, and both wives and husbands share in the household chores. By sixth grade these views shift to reflect a perception of more role differentitation in

families -- wives earning less of the family income and doing less of the home maintenance, and husbands doing less of the child care, shopping and cleaning.

There are interesting racial differences. Blacks and Mexican-Americans perceive there to be much more sharing of duties in families, including wives earning more of the income, husbands helping out around home, and even boys the age of th respondents helping with meals and child care. Minorities more than Whites also see adult jobs having more equal distributions of men and women, suggesting a sense of greater opportunity for women among minorities.

NOTES

[1]See, for example, Triandis (1971), pp 103-112. Also, Iczen and Fishbein (1981).

[2]Males' estimate of the number of girls competent in football increased from fourth to sixth grade, but the increase is statistically non significant. Their estimate of the number of competent in basketball increased by a larger and significant amount.

Chapter Four

SEX-ROLE NORMS

Individuals act in a social context. To some extent, their behaviors are influenced by the norms, or perceived norms, of peers for such behavior. Thus a girl is unlikely to try out for a touch football team if she feels that most of her girlfriends would disapprove. She is even less likely to try out if she thinks boys -- the dominant gender in that activity -- also disapprove and thus are likely to exclude her.

CHILDHOOD ACTIVITIES

Norms were measured by asking respondents whether they considered it a good idea for boys or girls to to do various activities considered non-traditional for their sex. The activities represent a set which should now be quite familiar to the reader.

> Girls in Mechanics: How do you feel about girls your age (2b) fixing a broken bike (2c) working with an adult on a car motor (2d) building a radio or something else that runs on electricity. [4=very good idea, 1=very bad idea]
>
> Girls in Athletics: How do you feel about girls your age (2a) playing football on a team with both boys and girls on the team (2e) playing basketball on a team with boys and girls on the team. [4=very good idea, 1=very bad idea]

> Girls in Leadership Roles: How do you feel about girls (16a) being president of your class; (16b) being captain of your school's football team; (16c) being in charge of your class paper drive and giving orders to other kids; (16d) being editor in charge of the school newspaper. [4=very good idea, 1=very bad idea]
>
> Boys in Helping Roles: How do you feel about boys (3a) taking care of a younger child at the playground (3b) helping a child with math (3d) helping old people (not living in their home) (3e) helping an adult fix meals for the family. [4=very good idea, 1=very bad idea]

There were four response possibilities for each item. These include, "very good idea" (4), "good idea" (3), "bad idea" (2), and "very bad idea" (1).

Note first the range of "support" for the various activities (Table 4.1). Very low support is expressed by males regarding girls doing mechanical (2.28) or athletic (2.31) activities. The scores are close to "bad idea." In the previous chapter it was found that males think that only "a few" girls are good in either of these domains. Males express even lower support for girls as leaders (2.11). These and other considerations lead to defining the portion of the scale between 2.01 and 2.55 as an area of moderate disapproval.

The next highest level of approval is the response of females to their own gender doing mechanical activities (2.68). In previous chapters it was seen that females show very little personal interest in mechanical activities, and believe that only slightly more than "a few" girls are good at such activities. These and similar observations lead to defining average responses in the 2.56 to 3.00 range as

indicating neutral or at best low positive approval of the behavior, and ratings in the range of 3.01 - 3.40 as indicative of moderate approval. Very strong approval is associated with average response above 3.40.

Patterns in the Data

Not surprisingly, the patterns are similar to those for beliefs. Gender defensiveness for leadership is in evidence (Index 1 and 2, Table 4.1). Females approve of girls as leaders but are neutral regarding boys. Males are strongly in favor of boys as leaders and disapproving of girls. The norms moderate between grades four and six, with males and females becoming more accepting of the opposite sex being leaders. The racial differences show Blacks to be the most defensive.

Females are approving of girls in athletics (3.14), and the variations by grade and race are quite small (Index 3). Males disapprove (2.31), but the variance of this mean score is quite large, indicating a wide variation in viewpoint among males. Some of the variation is explained by grade -- males show a small increase in acceptance of females engaging in athletics by sixth grade. Even more of the variation is explained by race. Mexican-American males are much more approving than either Black or White males. The norm regarding girls in mechanics (Index 4) shows a pattern similar to athletics, though females start with a more neutral view on whether their gender should do such things.

Table 4.1
Gender, Grade and Race Differences in Norms About Childhood Activities

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Sample Sizes									
Females	(1346)	(425)	(386)	(535)	-	(776)	(357)	(213)	-
Males	(1400)	(477)	(384)	(539)	-	(858)	(357)	(185)	-
Norms regarding girls as leaders[1]									
Females	3.13	3.15	3.11	3.13	ns	3.13	3.14	3.14	ns
std dev	.55	.60	.55	.52		.57	.52	.55	
Males	2.11	1.98	2.10	2.23	.00	2.10	2.04	2.25	.01
std dev	.72	.76	.73	.66		.72	.69	.77	
Norms regarding boys as leaders[1]									
Females	2.85	2.70	2.78	3.01	.00	2.90	2.73	2.83	.00
std dev	.72	.80	.74	.60		.71	.73	.71	
Males	3.52	3.56	3.52	3.49	ns	3.51	3.54	3.54	ns
std dev	.48	.49	.51	.44		.47	.50	.50	
Norms regarding girls in athletics[1]									
Females	3.14	3.09	3.09	3.21	.03	3.17	3.14	3.02	.05
std dev	.77	.82	.80	.71		.76	.78	.80	
Males	2.31	2.21	2.26	2.43	.00	2.27	2.28	2.57	.00
std dev	.97	.99	.99	.93		.98	.96	.94	
Norms regarding girls doing mechanics[1]									
Females	2.68	2.64	2.62	2.75	.03	2.74	2.57	2.65	.00
std dev	.77	.82	.79	.70		.77	.76	.75	
Males	2.28	2.20	2.25	2.36	.01	2.29	2.21	2.37	ns
std dev	.84	.89	.81	.82		.87	.78	.82	
Norms regarding boys in nurturant activities[1]									
Females	2.93	2.92	2.92	2.95	ns	2.88	2.96	3.07	.00
std dev	.70	.75	.73	.63		.69	.72	.65	
Males	2.96	2.99	2.98	2.93	ns	2.91	3.06	3.01	.00
std dev	.69	.73	.70	.65		.72	.62	.68	

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Norms regarding boys helping around the house[1]									
Females	2.18	2.10	2.18	2.24	.02	2.18	2.12	2.28	.03
std dev	.72	.76	.76	.65		.68	.76	.77	
Males	2.45	2.45	2.42	2.48	ns	2.52	2.32	2.37	.00
std dev	.82	.88	.79	.78		.82	.83	.76	
Norms regarding girls helping around the house[1]									
Females	3.48	3.46	3.51	3.47	ns	3.42	3.55	3.57	.00
std dev	.61	.67	.63	.54		.60	.64	.60	
Males	3.42	3.36	3.43	3.45	ns	3.38	3.55	3.35	.00
std dev	.63	.71	.61	.55		.62	.55	.77	

[1]Scale: 1=very bad idea, 2=bad idea, 3=good idea, 4=very good idea.
[2]Scale: Should do... 1=none of it, 2=a little, 3=some, 4=a lot.

Scale Range	Interp-retation
<=2.00	strong disapproval
2.01-2.55	moderate disapproval
2.56-3.00	neutral/low approval
3.01-3.40	moderate approval
>3.40	strong approval

When the subject shifts to boys being nurturant (Index 5), the norms of females and males are quite close; both indicate low to moderate approval. This index shows no shift with age. There is a very small tendency for minorities of both genders to approve more.

The general index of nurturance is comprised of four items. One of them is helping around home, the other three are outside the home, including babysitting, turoring, and helping an older person. But, if nurturance is limited to helping around home, children endorse a more traditional division of labor (Indices 6 and 7).

> Boys Helping Around the House. How much time should BOYS your age spend doing each of these things? (13a) help with making meals and washing dishes; (13b) help keep the house clean; (13c) help take care of younger children. [4=a lot, 3=some, 2=a little, 1=none]
>
> Girls Helping Around the House. How much time should GIRLS your age spend doing each of these things? (13e-f; same items as 13a-c above; same response scale).

Both gender groups think girls should do between "some" and "a lot" of these things, but boys should do only "a little." Black males seem most conservative in this regard. This racial difference is interesting since it was noted in the

previous chapter that Black males believe that boys actually do more of these tasks than do White males.

ADULT JOB AND FAMILY ROLES

In adult roles sex-role equity centers around two dimensions. These include wives earning a portion of the family income; husbands helping with the child care and other "feminine" family chores so that women can work outside the home if they want to; and women having access to jobs traditionally held only by men. The children's orientation on these issues is captured in a number of indexes that parallel the ones examined in the previous chapter in which their stereotypes about adult roles were described.

1. Wives Supporting the Family: How much of the money to support the family should be earned by the wife? [5=all of it, 1=none of it]

2. Husbands Supporting the Family: How much of the money to support the family should be earned by the husband? [5=all of it, 1=none of it]

3. Husbands Doing Female Housework: How much do you think each of these things should be done by husbands (11d) do the grocery shopping, cook the meals, do the dishes, (11e) do the housecleaning (dust, vacuum, scrub the floors, clean the bathroom, (11f) take care of the children. [5=all of it, 1=none of it]

4. Wives Doing Male Housework: How much do you think each of these things should be done by wives (11a) take care of things around the house (paint the house, fix leaking faucets) (11b) take care of the car (keep it clean, have the oil changed). [5=all of it, 1=none of it].

5. Women in Male Jobs: How would you feel if more women were (8a) car mechanics (8b) truck drivers (8c) machinists (make parts for machines) (8d) owners of hardware stores (8e) geologists (scientists who study

rocks and minerals). [4=very good idea, 1=very bad idea]

6. Men in Female Jobs: How would you feel if more men were (9a) nurses (9b) teachers of children who have problems with seeing or hearing (9c) occupational therapists (help sick or old people learn new skills). [4=very good idea, 1=very bad idea]

Supporting the family. Females and males agree that the husband should earn most or all of the family income (Index 2, Table 4.2). This norm becomes stronger with age, although the increase between fourth and sixth grade is not very large. Mexican-American females endorse this position more than Whites or Blacks.

When the topic is wives earning a portion of the family income (Index 1), there is greater variation of opinion. Males think wives should earn "some" of it, but the variance is quite large, indicating that males are not single-minded on this issue. Male opinion is stable across the upper elementary years. Among the racial groups White males are the most conservative in this regard. Females are more supportive, but not much; and they become more conservative with age until by sixth grade the gap between females and males is quite small indeed. As with the males, the most conservative females are White; but all racial groups shift in a conservative direction across the upper grades of elementary school.

Husband sharing wife's household duties. For wives to work, when the family has children, it is usually necessary for the husband to share some of the child care and other household duties. Males in the sample think husbands ought

to do between "a little" and "some" of these chores (Index 3). Again, it is the White males that are most conservative in this regard. Females are more liberal; they think husbands ought to do "some" of these chores; but females become more conservative with age. By grade six males and females are quite close in their attitudes. Of course there is no criterion for how much sharing would be required to support a wife/mother working outside the home. It can only be noted that females and males are quite close in their norms.

Non-traditional jobs. When asked about more women entering men's jobs (mechanic, truck driver, geologist, etc.), females are much more approving than males (Index 5, Table 4.2). Female opinion is at the level of low approval (2.84). Males are .76SD lower at a point corresponding to modest disapproval. Neither gender varies across the grades. Racially, the only noticeable differences are found for fourth grade males. They are the most conservative of the males, but by sixth grade all three racial groups are quite similar. When considering adulthood, male and female children have similar norms regarding the family roles a husband and wife should play. The big difference is in their views of whether women should do men's jobs.

Sex-role "traditionality". A measure of sex-role traditionality was derived by averaging responses to the above three indices: attitudes toward the wife earning money to support the family, attitude toward husband sharing in

Table 4.2
Gender, Grade and Race Differences in Norms About Adult Roles

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
Sample Sizes									
Females	(1346)	(425)	(386)	(535)	-	(776)	(357)	(213)	-
Males	(1400)	(477)	(384)	(539)	-	(858)	(357)	(185)	-
1. Wives supporting the family[1]									
Females	2.71	2.58	2.67	2.85	.00	2.82	2.53	2.61	.00
std dev	1.17	1.14	1.22	1.15		1.10	1.25	1.25	
Males	2.98	2.92	2.96	3.04	ns	3.08	2.80	2.85	.00
std dev	1.23	1.31	1.22	1.15		1.19	1.24	1.33	
2. Husbands supporting the family[1]									
Females	4.29	4.20	4.31	4.36	.03	4.25	4.28	4.66	.01
std dev	.90	1.02	.90	.80		.87	.96	.92	
Males	4.32	4.24	4.28	4.41	.03	4.32	4.28	4.36	ns
std dev	1.00	1.08	1.02	.89		.97	1.07	1.01	
3. Husbands doing female housework[1]									
Females	3.26	3.15	3.26	3.35	.01	3.31	3.17	3.23	ns
std dev	.97	1.02	1.01	.88		.92	1.05	1.00	
Males	3.51	3.46	3.53	3.55	ns	3.57	3.43	3.39	.01
std dev	.94	1.01	.94	.87		.89	1.02	.99	
4. Wives doing male housework[1]									
Females	3.66	3.64	3.71	3.64	ns	3.71	3.60	3.57	ns
std dev	.99	1.02	1.00	.96		.92	1.08	1.09	
Males	3.70	3.64	3.72	3.74	ns	3.77	3.67	3.43	.00
std dev	1.06	1.13	1.07	.99		1.00	1.11	1.17	
5. More women in male jobs[1]									
Females	2.84	2.85	2.79	2.86	ns	2.86	2.81	2.80	ns
std dev	.57	.63	.59	.51		.56	.58	.59	
Males	2.37	2.30	2.43	2.38	.02	2.33	2.40	2.47	.02
std dev	.67	.74	.68	.59		.67	.66	.68	

Gender	Totals	Grade				Race			
		Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Sig.	White	Black	Mex-Am	Sig.
6a. Mor men as nurses[1]									
Females	2.04	1.99	2.05	2.08	ns	2.04	1.95	2.21	.02
std dev	1.03	1.10	1.03	.97		1.01	1.06	1.04	
Males	1.59	1.58	1.55	1.62	ns	1.58	1.54	1.73	ns
std dev	.87	.94	.83	.85		.85	.87	.97	
6b. More men as special ed teachers or occupational therapists[1]									
Females	3.08	3.11	3.05	3.09	ns	3.08	3.13	3.02	ns
std dev	.71	.75	.70	.68		.72	.74	.63	
Males	2.85	2.86	2.85	2.85	ns	2.78	3.00	2.94	.00
std dev	.85	.93	.86	.76		.87	.77	.86	

[1]Scale: 1=very bad idea, 2=bad idea, 3=good idea, 4=very good idea.
[2]Scale: 1=all of it, 2=most, 3=some, 4=a little, 5=none.
[3]Scale: 5=all of it, 4=most, 3=some, 2=a little, 1=none.

the household chores, and attitudes toward more women entering male jobs. A fourth item was added to the measure to increase its discriminating power: attitude toward more men becoming nurses. The "traditional" point of view is characterized by opinions that a wife should not work outside the home to support the family, a husband should not help with the child care, women should not enter men's jobs, and men should not become nurses.

Table 4.3
Group Differences on
Measure of Sex-Role Traditionality

Group	ANOVA (Sig.)	Comments
Gender	.00	Males favor more traditional roles than females (.63SD)
Females		
grade	ns	
race	ns	
Males		
grade	ns	
race	.00	White males favor more traditional roles than either Blacks or Mexican-Americans

The index is useful to characterize the various groups of interest in this study. The data are shown in Table 4.3. The index is a strong discriminator of gender. Females are much less traditional. The average difference between females and males is .63SD. The index for either gender does not discriminate among grade levels. Among females it

does not discriminate racially; but among males, Whites are more conservative than either Blacks or Mexican-Americans. In short, by fourth grade males support a more traditional role for adult women than do females, and this is particularly true for White males. Individual indexes show modest grade level shifts toward a more traditional view; but overall, these shifts are dwarfed by the fundamental pre-existing gender difference.

Chapter Five

SUMMING UP

The Freestyle Career Awareness Project, with its focus on children in grades four to six, provides a window on late childhood through which we can see the development of sex-role attitudes and identity during the period just prior to adolescence. The portrait is interesting in its own right, but it has implications for career education in the schools as well.

SEX ROLES IN LATE CHILDHOOD

The interest patterns of fourth graders reflect sex typing, with boys strongly interested in athletics and mechanics, and girls interested in nurturant activitities and to a lesser extent athletics. Both genders are moderately interested in the investigative aspects of science -- contrary to the stereotype, but girls show virtually no interest in mechanics. Between age nine and twelve there are some shifts in interest patterns; indeed girls even show some increased interest in athletics. But by and large, the shifts are similar for both genders and do not alter the pattern of sex typing. For example, both genders express moderate interest in science at age nine, and this interest declines sharply for both by age 12.

When children think about adulthood and describe their job interests, sex typing is quite evident also. Only fifty-five percent of the jobs in which girls are interested are "male" jobs, compared to 82 percent for the boys. This is true at all three age levels. The only shift of note occurs for girls' interest in working outside the home; it rises dramatically between grades four and six.

Children's view of the world, as expressed by their beliefs, reflects strong sex stereotyping; but the dynamics are somewhat different from those for interests. Fourth graders view their childhood domains -- e.g., which gender is good at athletics or helping activities -- in strongly stereotypic terms. Girls see their own gender as quite good at a number of activities (leadership, nurturance) and boys good at others (athletics). But each gender perceives itself to be much better at every activity than does the opposite gender. In other words, each gender is defensive about its competence. However, when fourth graders consider adult roles the views of the two genders are less stereotyped. Boys perceive extensive sex segregation in jobs -- i.e., they think male jobs are held mostly by men and female jobs by women. Girls agree that "female" jobs are held mostly by women, but think there is more of an equal distribution of men and women in the "male" jobs.

By sixth grade boys and girls perceive more equity in their own activity world, and the gender defensiveness declines. In almost every activity sixth grade boys and

girls describe members of their own sex as less competent than do fourth graders, and the opposite sex as more competent. Although it is still a sex typed world for sixth graders, both genders have a more shared view of it.

There is also a more shared view of the world of adult jobs. However, this results from girls coming to believe by sixth grade that "male" jobs <u>are</u> dominated by men (and therefore not open to their gender). It is as though children in sixth grade have developed an openness to equity in their own activities, while at the same time acquiring a more realistic -- and sex-typed -- view of the world of adults.

Children's norms for appropriate behavior mirror their beliefs. Each gender defends the appropriateness of it's group doing the masculine childhood activities (leadership, athletics, mechanics). The defensiveness declines somewhat with age, with each gender becoming more accepting of the other engaging in the masculine arena. This is particularly relevant for girls, because it indicates a greater willingness on the part of boys to have girls participate in the traditionally masculine arenas. Both boys and girls are approving of males being nurturant in some arenas -- tutoring, helping younger children on the playground; but they are less so when nurturance is defined as helping out at home -- helping with cooking, dishes, and child care. These things are seen as the responsibility largely of girls

in the family. The norms for males in nurturant activities are stable across grades four to six.

Norms for adult roles shows one major distinction between boys and girls. Girls are much more strongly in favor of adult women doing the non traditional: earning some of the family income and entering "masculine" jobs. They also feel husbands should help more at home with child care and cooking -- a condition necessary for women to work outside the home. Between fourth and sixth grade girls become somewhat less supportive, but not much.

Relative to gender, the racial differences are all quite small. However, what differences there are indicate that White children are more conservative regarding gender roles than either Black or Mexican-American children. Black and Mexican-American males show greater interest in nurturant activity while the females show greater interest in athletics.

Sex role interests, beliefs and attitudes in late childhood are dominated by gender differences at all grade levels, but they evolve in important ways across these years of life. At the beginning of fourth grade nine-year-olds perceive the world in strongly sex typed terms. This is particularly true of their own childhood world and less so the world of adults. By sixth grade children become more accepting of non-traditional sex-role behavior in childhood activity, but less accepting of it in adult roles.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOLING

Requirements For Equity

The "TV Career Awareness Project" -- from which these data come -- was built on a framework for career development described elsewhere (Wise, Randour, and Charner, 1976). In the career development field the framework is unique in asserting that children do not often think about themselves in relation to adult roles; they focus primarily on their own childhood activity world. How they engage in those activities, however, has implications for career attainment. Participation in such things as mechanics and science articulates throughout the schooling process with course and hobby selection, which in turn articulates later in life to choice of family roles and job selection. For this reason, it is argued that career education at the elementary level should focus less on adult jobs and more on beliefs, attitudes, and interests relative to these childhood activities. The framework does not deny the importance of children's orientations to adult job and family roles; it only attributes somewhat less importance to them as a target of direct intervention.

Science and Mechanics

Perhaps the most striking findings in the data relate to children's interest in science and mechanics. At fourth grade both genders share moderate interest in scientific activity (raise goldfish, watch stars, collect insects,

etc.). During the upper elementary years interest in these activities declines dramatically. Related to scientific interest is interest in mechanics (fixing a bike, building a model, etc.). Mechanics form the core of engineering and scientific coursework in junior and senior high school. Girls in grades four, five, and six all show extremely low interest in mechanics (in contrast to the boys). For educators concerned about the declining participation of women in science -- especially engineering -- these data suggest the root of the problem may be partially found in the upper elementary years. Clearly, girls' low mechanical interest predates fourth grade; but the decline in scientific interest occurs between the beginning of fourth and the beginning of sixth grade. (For an overview of the problem of women in math and science, see Eccles, 1982.)

"Maturity" of Job Interests

It is argued by some that career development is enhanced to the extent that children gradually develop a smaller list of job possibilities, one that is progressively characterized as more "realistic" given their abilities. By this criterion, Blacks and Hispanics are less mature than Whites in the interests they express. This conclusion derives from the fact that the lists of jobs in which they are interested are longer for Blacks and Mexican-Americans than Whites, and that there is less variability in the strength of their interest in jobs within the list. Add to this the fact that the jobs all lie within a narrow range of

status and income -- mostly Conventional, Social, and Enterprising. This suggests that minorities may need more exposure to alternate job possibilities, if the goal of the schools is to keep open career options throughout the elementary school years.

Nurturance and Race

There are few consistent racial differences. However, one that stands out is the higher interest of Black males in nurturant activities, especially around home. Those who would argue for greater opportunity for women in the adult labor force recognize that, for families with children, it can occur only if husbands share more fully in child and home care. In late childhood Black children seem more open to this possibility than either Mexican-Americans or Whites. Whites embrace the traditional division of family roles most strongly. Those interested in equity in sex-role development -- especially in the area of career education -- may find that the two minority groups in this study are more open to non-traditional possibilities than Whites.

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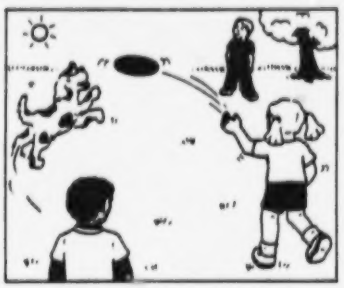
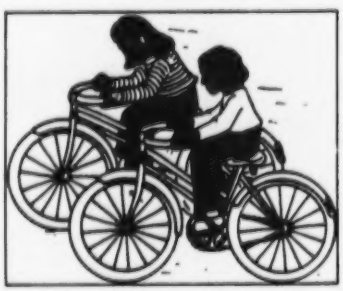
APPENDIX

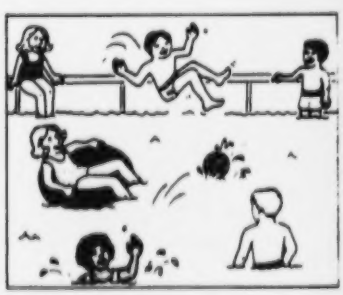
"MY INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES" QUESTIONNAIRE

Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106
Proj. No. 471611

Form Approved
O.M.B. No. 51-S-78019
Expiration Date 4-30-79







MY INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

This report is authorized by law (20 U.S.C. 1221e). While you are not required to respond, your cooperation is needed to make the results of this evaluation comprehensive, accurate, and timely.

Name _____
(First) (Last)

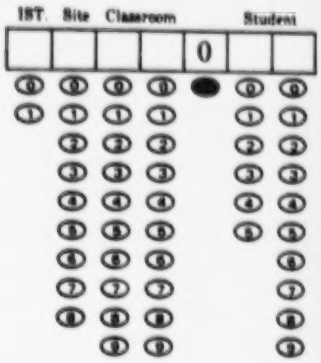
School _____

TEACHER: READ TO CLASS

This questionnaire asks about such things as the activities you like to do and the jobs you think might interest you when you grow up. This is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers.

I will read each question. Don't mark your answer until I have finished reading the question. In marking your answers, use a no. 2 (or softer) black lead pencil. Do NOT use a ball-point pen, felt-tip pen or a pencil with hard lead. Make each of your marks heavy and completely fill in the oval. Erase completely any answer you wish to change. Do NOT write or make any other marks in this booklet.

You are not required to answer these questions, but your answers will help us develop a good career education program for children like you.



Are you a

○ boy?

○ girl?

Are you in the

○ 4th grade?

○ 5th grade?

○ 6th grade?

PART 1

(APPROXIMATELY TWENTY MINUTES)

To begin with, we want to find out the things you would like to do if you had the chance. On the next page are some things that people your age do. For each one darken the oval which tells how much you would like to do it. If you don't know what the activity is, darken the last oval. Try these examples.

	Like it a lot	Like it pretty much	Like it a little	Don't like it at all	Don't know what that is
a. eat ice cream cones	○	○	○	○	○
b. clean up your room	○	○	○	○	○
c. play the game of SNOOZLE	○	○	○	○	○

You probably like to eat ice cream cones so you should have darkened one of the first two ovals.

How about cleaning your room?

How about playing SNOOZLE?

That's not really a game so you should have darkened the last oval which says you don't know what that is.

Does everyone understand?

On the next pages you should fill in the answers as I read each question. Don't get ahead of me.

1. How much would you like to do each of these things if you had the chance?

	Like it a lot	Like it pretty much	Like it a little	Don't like it at all	Don't know what that is
a. fix a broken bike	O	O	O	O	O
b. build a model kit (car, plane, boat, and so forth)	O	O	O	O	O
c. build a radio or something else that runs on electricity	O	O	O	O	O
d. fix a leaky faucet	O	O	O	O	O
e. work with an adult on a car motor	O	O	O	O	O
f. take care of a younger child at the playground	O	O	O	O	O
g. help a younger child with math	O	O	O	O	O
h. teach a younger child how to play a game	O	O	O	O	O
i. sew a button on clothes or sew up a tear	O	O	O	O	O
j. help an adult fix meals for the family	O	O	O	O	O
k. help old people (not living in your home)	O	O	O	O	O
l. help at a recreation center for handicapped people who are deaf, crippled, or blind	O	O	O	O	O
m. take care of sick people (not living in your home)	O	O	O	O	O
n. raise goldfish at home	O	O	O	O	O
o. watch the stars and planets and figure out the names of groups of stars	O	O	O	O	O
p. make an insect collection (ants, moths, butterflies, or other insects)	O	O	O	O	O
q. make a collection of different kinds of rocks	O	O	O	O	O
r. read books about rocks, insects, flowers, or stars	O	O	O	O	O
s. do a project for a science fair	O	O	O	O	O
t. run errands for an elderly person	O	O	O	O	O
u. play football	O	O	O	O	O
v. play basketball	O	O	O	O	O
w. play dodge ball	O	O	O	O	O
x. play soccer	O	O	O	O	O
y. play baseball	O	O	O	O	O

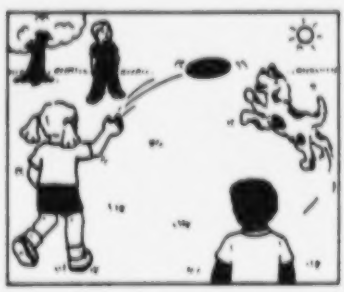
A number of times in this questionnaire we will ask whether you think some idea is a good idea or a bad idea. You can give us your answer by darkening the oval that says how you feel. The choices will be these:

—A very good idea
—A good idea
—A bad idea
—A very bad idea

For example: Darken the oval which tells best how you feel.

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
How do you feel about school children having vacations?	○	○	○	○

STOP UNTIL YOUR TEACHER TELLS YOU TO GO AHEAD



2. How do you feel about GIRLS your age doing these things if they want to:

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. playing football on a team with both boys and girls on the team	O	O	O	O
b. fixing a broken bike	O	O	O	O
c. working with an adult on a car motor	O	O	O	O
d. building a radio or something else that runs on electricity	O	O	O	O
e. playing basketball on a team with both boys and girls on the team	O	O	O	O

3. Now think about BOYS your age. How do you feel about BOYS doing these things if they want to:

a. taking care of a younger child at the playground	O	O	O	O
b. helping a child with math	O	O	O	O
c. playing football on a team with both boys and girls on the team	O	O	O	O
d. helping old people (not living in their home)	O	O	O	O
e. helping an adult fix meals for the family	O	O	O	O

ere are a few of the same activities again. How many girls and boys your age are good at doing em? The answers you can give are these:

—All
—Most
—Some
—A few
—None

4. How many GIRLS are good at:

	All	Most	Some	A few	None
a. playing football	O	O	O	O	O
b. fixing a broken bike	O	O	O	O	O
c. fixing a car motor	O	O	O	O	O
d. building a radio or something else that runs on electricity	O	O	O	O	O
e. playing basketball	O	O	O	O	O

5. How many BOYS are good at:

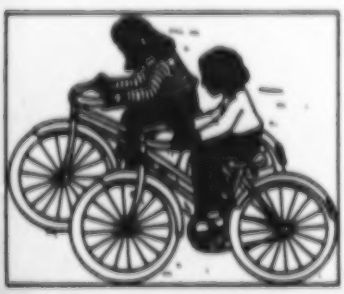
	All	Most	Some	A few	None
a. taking care of a younger child at the playground	O	O	O	O	O
b. helping a child with math	O	O	O	O	O
c. playing football	O	O	O	O	O
d. helping old people (not living in their home)	O	O	O	O	O
e. helping an adult fix meals for the family	O	O	O	O	O

6. It will be a long time before you choose an adult job. However, you probably know now that there are some jobs you would not consider doing and others that you would consider doing. What do you think about each of these jobs for yourself? For each one darken the first oval if you definitely would consider doing it; darken the second oval if you probably would consider it; darken the third oval if you probably would not consider it; darken the fourth oval if you definitely would not consider it. You may not know some of the jobs on the list. If you don't know one of them, darken the last oval labeled "I don't know what that job is."

	Definitely consider	Probably consider	Probably NOT consider	Definitely NOT consider	I don't know what that job is
a. car mechanic	O	O	O	O	O
b. truck driver	O	O	O	O	O
c. electrician	O	O	O	O	O
d. carpenter	O	O	O	O	O
e. worker in a factory who puts things together (like a car or other machine)	O	O	O	O	O
f. machinist (makes parts for machines)	O	O	O	O	O
g. boss in a factory	O	O	O	O	O
h. nurse	O	O	O	O	O
i. professional athlete	O	O	O	O	O
j. coach	O	O	O	O	O
k. school teacher	O	O	O	O	O
l. librarian	O	O	O	O	O
m. dental assistant (clean people's teeth or help dentist fix their teeth)	O	O	O	O	O
n. occupational therapist (help sick or old people learn new skills)	O	O	O	O	O
o. teacher of children who have problems with seeing or hearing	O	O	O	O	O

		Definitely consider	Probably consider	Probably NOT consider	Definitely NOT consider	I don't know what that job is
p.	homemaker — a father or mother who stays home and cares for the children, cooks meals, and cleans the house	O	O	O	O	O
q.	reporter (write stories for a newspaper)	O	O	O	O	O
r.	photographer (take pictures for a newspaper)	O	O	O	O	O
s.	pharmacist (give out medicine in a drug store)	O	O	O	O	O
t.	geologist (scientist who studies rocks and minerals)	O	O	O	O	O
u.	designer of electrical things like TVs, radios, or calculators	O	O	O	O	O
v.	scientist who studies how the weather works	O	O	O	O	O
w.	scientist who studies how plants and animals grow	O	O	O	O	O
x.	designer of airplanes or rockets	O	O	O	O	O
y.	owner of a hardware store	O	O	O	O	O
z.	owner of a business which makes things like shoes or toys or furniture	O	O	O	O	O
aa.	manager of a motel or hotel	O	O	O	O	O
bb.	owner of a restaurant	O	O	O	O	O
cc.	owner of a company which builds houses	O	O	O	O	O
dd.	sales person in a store who sells cars or televisions or refrigerators	O	O	O	O	O
ee.	city council member (someone elected to help run a city)	O	O	O	O	O
ff.	secretary	O	O	O	O	O
gg.	someone who sorts mail in the post office	O	O	O	O	O
hh.	bookkeeper (keep records of money spent and received by a business)	O	O	O	O	O
ii.	check-out clerk at a grocery or discount store	O	O	O	O	O
jj.	telephone operator	O	O	O	O	O

END OF PART 1



PART 2
(APPROXIMATELY TWENTY MINUTES)

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

On this page are the names of some jobs which people have. Think about the kind of people who do the jobs, whether they are usually men or usually women. If you think almost all of the people who do the jobs are men, darken the first oval. If you think that more than half are men, darken the second oval. If you think about half of them are men and half women, darken the third oval. If you think more than half are women, darken the fourth oval. If you think almost all are women, darken the last oval.

7. What do you think is true today? How many of the people who do each of these jobs are men and how many are women?

	Almost all are MEN	More than half are MEN	About half are men, half are women	More than half are WOMEN	Almost all are WOMEN
a. car mechanic	O	O	O	O	O
b. truck driver	O	O	O	O	O
c. nurse	O	O	O	O	O
d. secretary	O	O	O	O	O
e. machinist (makes parts for machines)	O	O	O	O	O
f. pharmacist (gives out medicine in a drug store)	O	O	O	O	O
g. owner of a hardware store	O	O	O	O	O
h. city council member (someone elected to help run a city)	O	O	O	O	O
i. geologist (scientist who studies rocks and minerals)	O	O	O	O	O
j. worker in a factory who puts things together (like a car)	O	O	O	O	O
k. telephone operator	O	O	O	O	O
l. sales person in a store who sells cars or TVs or refrigerators	O	O	O	O	O
m. owner of a restaurant	O	O	O	O	O
n. designer of electrical things like TVs, radios, or calculators	O	O	O	O	O
o. dental assistant (cleans people's teeth or helps dentist fix their teeth)	O	O	O	O	O
p. teacher of children who have problems with seeing or hearing	O	O	O	O	O
q. occupational therapist (help sick or old people learn new skills)	O	O	O	O	O

8. What do you think it would be like if things were different than they are today? How would you feel if more WOMEN were:

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. car mechanics	O	O	O	O
b. truck drivers	O	O	O	O
c. machinists (make parts for machines)	O	O	O	O
d. owners of hardware stores	O	O	O	O
e. geologists (scientists who study rocks and minerals)	O	O	O	O

9. How would you feel if more MEN were:

a. nurses	O	O	O	O
b. teachers of children who have problems with seeing or hearing	O	O	O	O
c. occupational therapists (help sick or old people learn new skills)	O	O	O	O

10. When people get married, they must do things such as earn money, take care of children, and take care of things around the house. The husband and wife must decide who is going to do these things. Think about families you know where there are both a husband and wife. How do husbands and wives divide things up in these families? (Don't think just about your family.)

First, how much is each of these things done by WIVES today?

	All of it	Most	Some	A little	None of it
a. take care of things around the house (paint the house, fix leaky faucets, and so forth)	O	O	O	O	O
b. take care of the car (keep it clean, have the oil changed, and so forth)	O	O	O	O	O
c. work to earn money to support the family	O	O	O	O	O

Now think about HUSBANDS, how much is done by HUSBANDS today?

d. do the grocery shopping, cook the meals, do the dishes, and so forth	O	O	O	O	O
e. do the housecleaning (dust, vacuum, scrub the floors, clean the bathroom, and so forth)	O	O	O	O	O
f. take care of the children	O	O	O	O	O
g. work to earn money to support the family	O	O	O	O	O

11. How do you think things **should be**?

First, how much do you think each of these things **should be done** by WIVES?

	All of it	Most	Some	A little	None of it
a. take care of things around the house (paint the house, fix leaky faucets, and so forth)	O	O	O	O	O
b. take care of the car (keep it clean, have the oil changed, and so forth)	O	O	O	O	O
c. work to earn money to support the family	O	O	O	O	O

Now think about HUSBANDS, how much do you think each of these things should be done by HUSBANDS?

d. do the grocery shopping, cook the meals, do the dishes, and so forth	O	O	O	O	O
e. do the housecleaning (dust, vacuum, scrub the floors, clean the bathroom, and so forth)	O	O	O	O	O
f. take care of the children	O	O	O	O	O
g. work to earn money to support the family	O	O	O	O	O

12. Now think about children your age.

How much time do BOYS your age spend doing each of these things?

	A lot	Some	A little	None
a. help with making meals and washing dishes	O	O	O	O
b. help keep the house clean	O	O	O	O
c. help take care of younger children	O	O	O	O

How much time do GIRLS your age spend doing each of these things?

e. help with making meals and washing dishes	O	O	O	O
f. help keep the house clean	O	O	O	O
g. help take care of younger children	O	O	O	O

3. How do you think things **should** be?

How much time **should** BOYS your age spend doing each of these things?

	A lot	Some	A little	None
a. help with making meals and washing dishes	○	○	○	○
b. help keep the house clean	○	○	○	○
c. help take care of younger children	○	○	○	○

How much time **should** GIRLS your age spend doing each of these things?

e. help with making meals and washing dishes	○	○	○	○
f. help keep the house clean	○	○	○	○
g. help take care of younger children	○	○	○	○

4. When you grow up, do you expect that you will have a job outside the home?

- ○ Yes, I definitely will
- ○ Yes, I probably will
- ○ No, I probably will not
- ○ No, I definitely will not

5. If you get married, would you want the person you marry to have a job outside the home?

- ○ Yes, definitely
- ○ Yes, probably
- ○ No, probably not
- ○ No, definitely not

END OF PART 2

PART 3
(APPROXIMATELY TWENTY MINUTES)

16. First, how do you feel about a girl being the leader of a group of boys and girls your age? Think about groups like your school classes, clubs, or sports teams, with both boys and girls in them. If you think it's a very good idea to have a girl as a leader, darken the first oval. If you think it's a good idea, darken the second oval. If you think it's a bad idea, darken the third oval. If you think it's a very bad idea, darken the last oval.

How do you feel about GIRLS doing these things?

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. being president of your class	O	O	O	O
b. being captain of your school's football team	O	O	O	O
c. being in charge of your class' paper drive and giving orders to the other kids	O	O	O	O
d. being editor in charge of the school newspaper	O	O	O	O

Now, how about BOYS?

e. being president of your class	O	O	O	O
f. being captain of your school's football team	O	O	O	O
g. being in charge of your class' paper drive and giving orders to the other kids	O	O	O	O
h. being editor in charge of the school newspaper	O	O	O	O

17. Next, think about girls as leaders of groups that have both boys and girls in them. Darken the oval which tells how you feel.

How many GIRLS:

	All of them	Most	Some	A few	None of them
a. are good at organizing things for the group to do	O	O	O	O	O
b. are good at giving each group member a job which they can do well	O	O	O	O	O
c. are too bossy when they lead the group	O	O	O	O	O
d. have good ideas about what the group should do	O	O	O	O	O
e. listen to the ideas of other group members	O	O	O	O	O
f. give all the good jobs to other girls in the group	O	O	O	O	O

18. Next, think about BOYS as the leaders of these groups.

How many BOYS:

	All of them	Most	Some	A few	None of them
a. are good at organizing things for the group to do	O	O	O	O	O
b. are good at giving each group member a job which they can do well	O	O	O	O	O
c. are too bossy when they lead the group	O	O	O	O	O
d. have good ideas about what the group should do	O	O	O	O	O
e. listen to the ideas of other group members	O	O	O	O	O
f. give all the good jobs to other boys in the group	O	O	O	O	O

19. There is some time every day when you must do certain things. You have to sleep, eat meals, and go to school. There is other time that is your own free time; you can play or do what you want then. How do you feel about boys and girls doing some of the things below in their free time? Darken the oval to show whether you think it is a very good idea, a good idea, a bad idea, or a very bad idea.

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. Some younger students in your school need help learning how to read. How would you feel if some boys in your class spent their free time helping them learn to read?	O	O	O	O
b. How would you feel if some boys in your class spent some of their free time in old folks' homes helping older people with their projects and activities?	O	O	O	O
c. Jerry is a very good basketball player. Last year in his free time he played on the elementary school team. Jerry also likes to help out in an old folks home. He talks to the people and plays games with them. This year he doesn't have time to do both things so he thinks he will help out at the old folks home instead of playing basketball. How good an idea do you think this is?	O	O	O	O
d. Marsha is a very good basketball player. Last year in her free time she played on the elementary school team. Marsha also likes to help out in an old folks home. She talks to people and plays games with them. This year she doesn't have time to do both things so she thinks she will help out at the old folks home instead of playing basketball. How good an idea do you think this is?	O	O	O	O
e. Yvonne is interested in cars and in her free time after school has been helping a grown up fix cars. A little kid at school is having trouble with his reading and needs help after school. Yvonne likes to help younger children with their school work but doesn't have time to do both. She thinks she should help the kid with reading instead of working on cars. How good an idea do you think this is?	O	O	O	O

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
f. José is interested in cars and in his free time after school has been helping a grown up fix cars. A little kid at school is having trouble with his reading and needs help after school. José likes to help younger children with their school work but doesn't have time to do both. He thinks he should help the kid with reading instead of working on cars. How good an idea do you think this is?	O	O	O	O
g. Billy and Jane both like to take care of little children. Their older sister has a three-year old child. The older sister would like some help after school taking care of the child. She asks Billy and Jane if they would like to take the child to the playground once or twice a week. First, think just about Billy; he'd have to give up playing with his friends. How good an idea is it for Billy to take care of the child instead of playing with his friends?	O	O	O	O
h. How about Jane? She would also have to give up playing with her friends. How good an idea is it for Jane to take care of the child instead of playing with her friends?	O	O	O	O

Now think about how many boys and girls your age are good at helping others do the kinds of things we've just been talking about. First think about boys.

20. How many BOYS your age are good at:

	All of them	Most	Some	A few	None of them
a. helping to take care of a younger child	O	O	O	O	O
b. understanding why a child misbehaves	O	O	O	O	O
c. tutoring younger students, that is, helping them to learn things	O	O	O	O	O
d. figuring out what would make someone happy	O	O	O	O	O
e. helping older people with what they need	O	O	O	O	O
f. knowing when to help someone and when not to	O	O	O	O	O

21. How about girls; how many GIRLS your age are good at:

a. helping to take care of a younger child	O	O	O	O	O
b. understanding why a child misbehaves	O	O	O	O	O
c. tutoring younger students, that is, helping them to learn things	O	O	O	O	O
d. figuring out what would make someone happy	O	O	O	O	O
e. helping older people with what they need	O	O	O	O	O
f. knowing when to help someone and when not to	O	O	O	O	O

Think about kids your age doing things they're interested in doing (such as sports, hobbies, or school activities) when others may not think it's such a good idea. The first questions are about boys.

22. How would you feel if a BOY your age did something he was interested in doing:

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. when his close friends wanted him to do something else with them	O	O	O	O
b. when his close friends thought it was a thing only girls should do	O	O	O	O
c. when his parents wished he would do something else	O	O	O	O

23. How would you feel if a GIRL your age did something she was interested in doing:

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. when her close friends wanted her to do something else with them	O	O	O	O
b. when her close friends thought it was a thing only boys should do	O	O	O	O
c. when her parents wished she would do something else	O	O	O	O

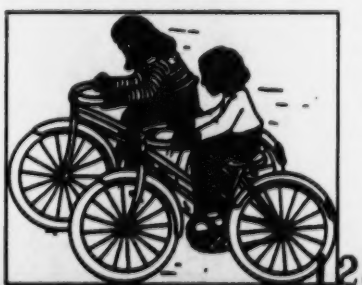
24. How often do you think BOYS your age actually do something they're really interested in:

	Very often	Fairly often	Not very often	Hardly ever	Never
a. when their friends think only girls do it	O	O	O	O	O
b. when their parents wished they would do something else	O	O	O	O	O

25. How often do you think GIRLS your age actually do something they're really interested in:

	Very often	Fairly often	Not very often	Hardly ever	Never
a. when their friends think only boys do it	O	O	O	O	O
b. when their parents wished they would do something else	O	O	O	O	O

END OF PART 3 -



PART 4
(APPROXIMATELY TWENTY MINUTES)

26. Think about how kids your age act in different situations. First, I'd like to ask you about GIRLS. If you think almost all girls act this way, darken the first oval. If you think most act this way, darken the second oval. If you think some act this way, darken the third oval. If you think a few act this way, darken the fourth oval. If you think none act this way, darken the last oval.

	All of them	Most	Some	A few	None of them
a. How many girls your age stand up for what they think is right?	O	O	O	O	O
b. How many girls your age stop somebody from picking on younger kids?	O	O	O	O	O
c. How many girls your age tell another kid when they think the other kid is wrong?	O	O	O	O	O
d. How many girls your age demand to be treated fairly by grownups?	O	O	O	O	O
e. How many girls your age demand to be treated fairly by other kids?	O	O	O	O	O
f. How many girls your age don't do things because they might get hurt doing them?	O	O	O	O	O
g. How many girls your age don't do things because they might be embarrassed?	O	O	O	O	O
h. When girls try to do something and they fail, how many of them give up rather than trying it again another way?	O	O	O	O	O
i. When girls have a choice, how many of them pick the easy thing to do instead of the hard thing?	O	O	O	O	O

27. Now think about BOYS.

a. How many boys your age stand up for what they think is right?	O	O	O	O	O
b. How many boys your age stop somebody from picking on younger kids?	O	O	O	O	O
c. How many boys your age tell another kid when they think the other kid is wrong?	O	O	O	O	O
d. How many boys your age demand to be treated fairly by grownups?	O	O	O	O	O
e. How many boys your age demand to be treated fairly by other kids?	O	O	O	O	O

	All of them	Most	Some	A few	None of them
f. How many boys your age don't do things because they might get hurt doing them?	O	O	O	O	O
g. How many boys your age don't do things because they might be embarrassed?	O	O	O	O	O
h. When boys try to do something and they fail, how many of them give up rather than trying it again another way?	O	O	O	O	O
i. When boys have a choice, how many of them pick the easy thing to do instead of the hard thing?	O	O	O	O	O

8. There are a lot of different things you like to do in your free time; things like sports, hobbies, and playing with friends. Suppose a friend of yours, a girl, is very interested in fixing cars. After school she often helps a grown up friend work on an old car. Some days, though, she's not sure if she should do this because of what her friends say to her. What do you think?

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. Should she work on the cars even if her friends want her to do something else with them?	O	O	O	O
b. Should she work on the cars even if her friends think that working on cars is boring?	O	O	O	O
c. Should she work on the cars even if her friends think that working on cars is something only boys should do?	O	O	O	O
d. Should she work on cars even if her parents think it is not good for girls to do this kind of thing?	O	O	O	O

9. Suppose a friend of yours, a boy, likes very much to take care of kids. After school, he often helps his older sister take care of her three-year-old child. Some days, though, he's not sure he should do this because of what his friends say to him. What do you think?

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. Should he take care of the child even if his friends want him to do something else with them?	O	O	O	O
b. Should he take care of the child even if his friends think that it is boring?	O	O	O	O
c. Should he take care of the child even if his friends think that it is something only girls do?	O	O	O	O
d. Should he take care of the child even if his parents think that it is not something for a boy to do?	O	O	O	O

30. You're on the playground and a little kid in second grade is being picked on by some kids in your grade. A girl you know thinks it's very unfair and wants to make the big kids stop. Someone else thinks she ought to go get the teacher instead. The girl says no, she will do it herself. How good an idea is it for her to try by herself to get the big kids to stop? .....

Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
O	O	O	O

31. You're on the playground and a little kid in second grade is being picked on by some kids in your grade. A boy you know thinks it's very unfair and wants to make the big kids stop. Someone else thinks he ought to get the teacher instead. The boy says no, he will do it himself. How good an idea is it for him to try by himself to get the big kids to stop? .....

O	O	O	O

32. Your school has a band. A girl you know plays the saxophone very well, but didn't get chosen to play because there were already enough saxophones in the band. She thinks this is unfair and thinks she should go to the teacher and prove that she's good enough to play. A friend says no, that she should just wait this year and try again next year. How good an idea is it for her to go see the teacher right now? .....

O	O	O	O

33. A boy you know plays the saxophone very well, but didn't get chosen to play because there were already enough saxophones in the band. He thinks this is unfair and thinks he should go to the teacher and prove that he's good enough to play. A friend says no, that he should just wait this year and try again next year. How good an idea is it for him to go see the teacher right now? .....

O	O	O	O

When you try something new you often "take a chance" that you might fail. Sometimes you take a chance you might get hurt, other times you take a chance you might be embarassed in front of your friends. When you play a sport you've never played before you take a chance that you might not do it well and someone will make fun of you. Some chances are better to take than others.

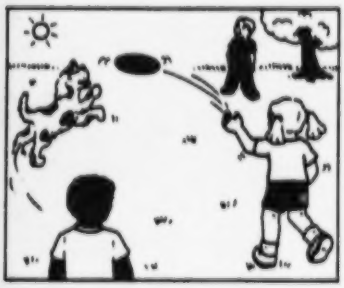
34. Here are some things where BOYS might take a chance of failing. How do you feel about a boy taking these chances?

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. raise his hand in class when he is not sure of the answer	O	O	O	O
b. take apart a bike to fix it when he is not sure how to do it	O	O	O	O
c. try to bake cookies using a recipe that is much harder than he has used before	O	O	O	O
d. try a new sport when he is not sure he can do it well				
e. climb onto a high place where he's not sure he can get down	O	O	O	O

35. Now, how do you feel about GIRLS taking these chances?

	Very good idea	Good idea	Bad idea	Very bad idea
a. raise her hand in class when she is not sure of the answer	O	O	O	O
b. take apart a bike to fix it when she is not sure how to do it	O	O	O	O
c. try to bake cookies using a recipe that is much harder than she has used before	O	O	O	O
d. try a new sport when she is not sure she can do it well	O	O	O	O
e. climb onto a high place where she's not sure she can get down	O	O	O	O

END OF PART 4



PART 5
(APPROXIMATELY FIVE MINUTES)

TO THE TEACHER:

> Ask these questions only in the January-February time period.
>
> If your class did not watch FREESTYLE in school or at home during the last few months, skip to item 41.

36. Since October you have been watching a TV show called "Freestyle." The show has had stories about Denice, Marcus, Walter and other kids. The kids did many different kinds of things. They had part-time jobs, did projects for school and played in sports. Darken the oval which says how much you learned about each of these things from watching "Freestyle."

	I learned a lot	I learned a little	I didn't learn anything
a. what girls do for fun	O	O	O
b. what boys do for fun	O	O	O
c. how girls behave	O	O	O
d. how boys behave	O	O	O
e. the kinds of things girls are good at doing	O	O	O
f. the kinds of things boys are good at doing	O	O	O
g. what it is like to be a leader	O	O	O
h. what it is like to help other people	O	O	O
i. the kinds of jobs adult women have	O	O	O
j. the kinds of jobs adult men have	O	O	O
k. what it is like to work at grown up jobs	O	O	O
l. what husbands and wives do around the home to help the family	O	O	O
m. what boys and girls do around the home to help the family	O	O	O

37. Overall, how much have you liked watching the "Freestyle" television shows? I liked them:

- O A lot
- O Pretty much
- O A little
- O Not at all

TO THE TEACHER:

If your class did not watch "FREESTYLE" at school, skip to item 41.

38. Compared to other shows you watch on TV at home, how much fun was it to watch "Freestyle?" "Freestyle" was:

- ○ A lot more fun
- ○ A little more fun
- ○ A little less fun
- ○ A lot less fun

39. Compared to most other things you do in class at school, how much fun was it to watch the "Freestyle" television shows?

- ○ A lot more fun
- ○ A little more fun
- ○ A little less fun
- ○ A lot less fun

40. Compared to most other things you talk about in class, how interesting were the discussions you had about things in the "Freestyle" shows?

- ○ A lot more interesting
- ○ A little more interesting
- ○ A little less interesting
- ○ A lot less interesting

41. This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for helping us out. Your answers will help make better things for use in schools in the coming years.